

Volume I - Foundation Document for

Honoring Tribal Legacies: An Epic Journey of Healing



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CHAPTER 2

Honoring Native Memory: Potent and Vital in the Past, Present, and Future



Oregon coast. Photo by Stephanie Wood.

Stephanie Wood, Ph.D.
University of Oregon

My Story

The task of honoring Native memory has consumed my life for about 35 years. In college, I chose history as an area of study when it became suddenly clear to me that I had learned a history fraught with injurious distortions and unfair omissions. I became determined to work to make historical memory more inclusive of diverse experiences and a greater variety of points of view. After college, in developing my own research directions, I chose the elevation of Indigenous perspectives in the history of Mexico under Spanish rule. The Nahuas, who included the group known to some as the Aztecs, as well as some of the Aztecs' traditional enemies, are exceptional for the way they wrote thousands of manuscripts in their own language about their daily lives, from about the 1540s until the 1830s. I am drawn to their history because we have these records from their point of view, in their own words, illuminating struggles with European conquest and colonization.



Detail of the García Manuscript No. 8, Benson Collection, Latin American Library, University of Texas, Austin, showing an Indigenous view of the "encounter" in central Mexico; photo by Stephanie Wood with permission.

My research background is not very distant from the project at hand, to Honor Tribal Legacies. I am thrilled to see the energy and creativity that people bring to this project with a similar intent, of working with teaching and learning communities to honor tribal contributions, bring healing, and celebrate Native heritage. One of the huge challenges we face as educators is to help shape a more balanced portrayal of U.S. history. "Supplanting the Meta-Narrative" is a chapter title in one of my books, and I feel that my whole career has been devoted to replacing the dominant discourse with something that a wider cross-section of this hemisphere will be able to recognize and embrace. When taking a series of pivotal events from the past, such as the Lewis and Clark expedition of the early nineteenth century and its bicentennial commemoration 200 years later, we are drawn to address imbalances in the more established historical record.

We ask ourselves how the expedition has been framed and how it could be framed in a new way, with an eye to creating a more collective story, more inclusive of a variety of points of view. And we come together to explore how we can re-imagine our curriculum, infusing it with a healing vision, an inquiry involving critical framing, enhanced analytical skills, and resulting in a transformed practice.

— Stephanie Wood

Brenda Trofanenko, who holds the Canada Research Chair in Education, Culture, and Community, sees a pedagogical imperative in renewing our approach to the past and re-thinking who we are as individuals and communities. In her aptly titled article, "More Than a Single Best Narrative," Trofanenko explains how eighth-grade history students uncovered the ways the Lewis and Clark expedition was used to build a national identity about an "inevitable" push westward that involved the supposed "discovery" of an empty territory and the impressive "survival" of the Euro-American emigrants, creating a "frontier" society of self-made men, and so on.¹ We know all too well the tropes of this supposedly authoritative master narrative that Trofanenko's students so deftly debunked. Our knowledge of its inadequacies beckons us to come together now to challenge it and engage our students to take a new look at a broader array of evidence, welcome a greater variety of first-hand accounts, strive to understand cause, and come away with multiple interpretations.

We seek not just to know the past but also to find its meaning and purpose in our lives today and for our benefit in the future. Trofanenko convincingly argues that we can transform our historical consciousness through this process. The curriculum designed by our esteemed co-editor, Ella Inglebret, "Honoring Tribal Legacies in Telling the Lewis and Clark Story," is exemplary in this regard.

Observations of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, with the impressive Tent of Many Voices, have also inspired us in this endeavor. In 2006 in Grand Ronde, Oregon, for example, Carol Logan stepped up in the Tent to speak about "Ancestral Voices," and Don Day recalled "Cedar: One of Our First Gifts."² The involvement of the Native employees in the national parks (such as our contributor Richard Basch, of Astoria, Oregon) during the Bicentennial, and the supervision of Gerard, Baker, the first American Indian Superintendent of the national historic trail, were also crucial. These experiences have left us a bountiful legacy in the free, online Tribal Legacy Project videos and other resources, as well as the book *Enough Good People: Reflections on Tribal Involvement and Inter-Cultural Collaboration, 2003–2006*, organized with the guidance of the crucial Council of Tribal Advisors.³ Presenters from the Tent of Many Voices will be referenced throughout this chapter and in the work of our featured curriculum designers. It is our aim to draw from and build upon the outstanding work of those active during the Bicentennial, weaving their voices into the new versions of this period in American history.



Path in the Sierra Mountains of California, symbolic of our effort to forge new trails; photo by Stephanie Wood.

In this chapter, we will explore perspectives on the past in light of the craft of history (what we call historiography), in its complexities and with its many faults, to see if we can forge a new path. On this new path we will aim to Honor Tribal Legacies and invigorate teaching and learning with a determination to infuse history with fairness and balance. We will raise for contemplation and discussion some of the elements in the traditional craft of history that call out for new approaches that embrace cultural diversity, multiple perspectives and voices, and a wider human experience. We will explore new methods and overlooked sources that can enrich our appreciation of Native memory. We will seek directions that move us along a journey of healing, enabling us—in our collectivities—to find ever richer, deeper, more satisfying, and more rewarding relationships with each other, with the spirits, and with this Earth upon which we live.

"... the ancient history of the US is the Tribal history. We must help other citizens understand that our ancient history was not in Rome or Greece, but was here."

—Mike Iyall, Cowlitz, 2006; *Enough Good People*, p. 7

History and Historiography

What goes into the craft of history? It might be said that history combines research with imagination to interpret how humans have lived their lives in other times and in specific places, with the intention of making that past come alive, and to make it relevant for the present and the future. History often contains stories that help us make sense of the human condition, to understand our Ancestors and their legacies, to articulate and apply their wisdom, and to feel a part of a community with deep roots.⁴ It can be a source of pride and a cause for periodic remembrance and even celebration.

The study of history can also expose behavior or patterns of action and belief that we might wish to avoid in the future, identifying the consequences such behaviors have produced. Histories can steer us away from (without guaranteeing an avoidance of) the repetition of mistakes. Knowing about mistakes can help us build our wisdom and side-step pitfalls in our pathways of the future.

"Over the years, I've tried to find ways to tell the truth about history so that students leave feeling more hopeful and powerful than when we began. I encourage students to 'talk back' to the history and to the history writers."

— Bill Bigelow, in *Rethinking Columbus*, 1998, p. 115⁵

Many of us who are historians and history teachers challenge ourselves to bridge cultures, build understandings, and fire imaginations. We approach the past, present, and future with a constructive purpose to inspire in our readers or our listeners the courage to make healthy choices, to dig deep for compassion, and to right wrongs. We believe in principles of equity and democracy, we celebrate diversity, and many of us are passionate about social justice.⁶ We seek out new sources to round out the picture of human experience. We hope to show respect for our tradition bearers and provide them with various kinds of support to lead us through difficult conversations, record oral accounts, and to shape our histories in improved community and national museums.



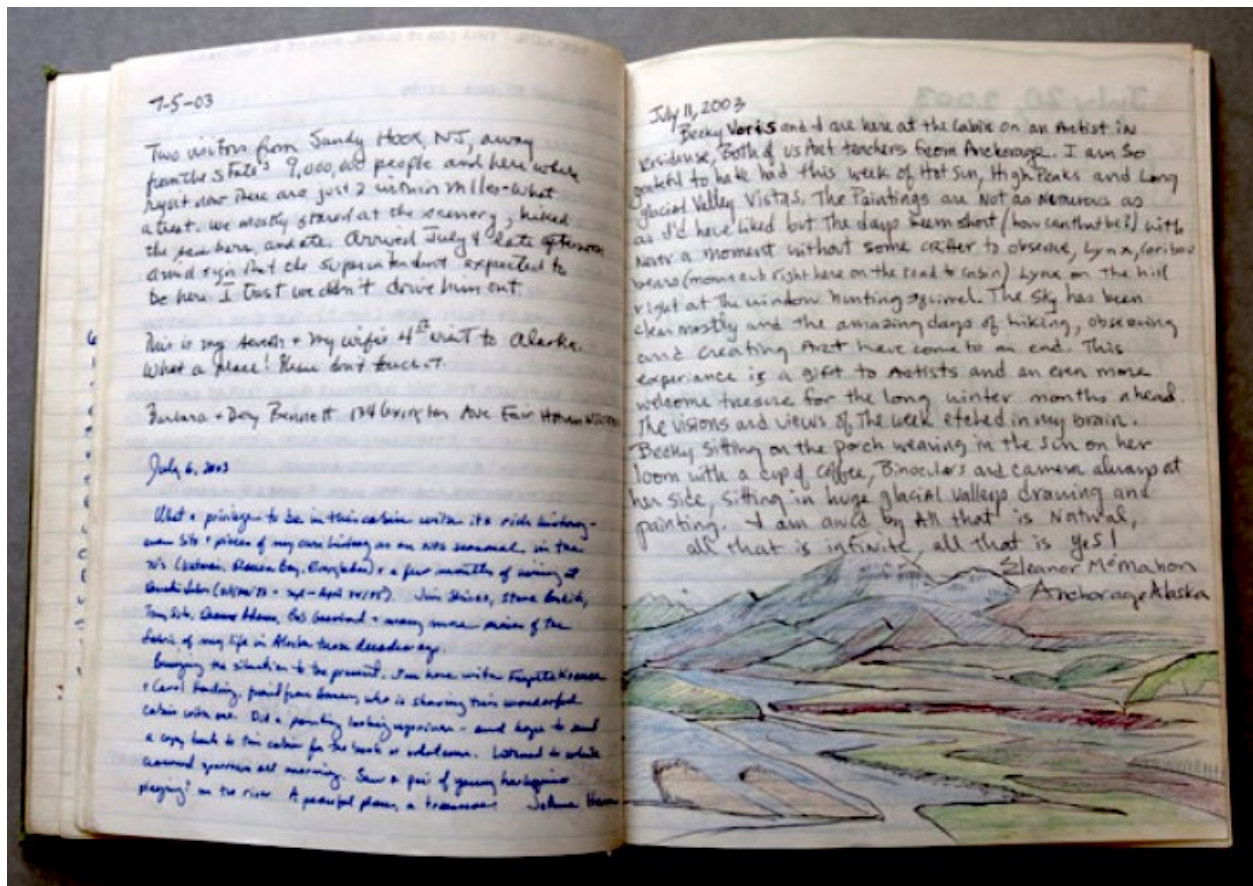
A ceremony honoring tradition bearers; photo by Richard Basch with permission.

This may not be every historian's approach to historical interpretation. In European and Euro-American cultures, the study of history has all-too-often involved the memorization of supposedly objective and universal "facts" about "great men," of "empirical evidence" presented with detachment, all of it ordered in a chronological, unstoppable march that was meant to give us assurance about its "truth." But as we mature and learn, we come to see that there are many truths, multiple points of view, various ways of interpreting time, and many of the best stories are still waiting to be shared. We find significant gaps to fill and stories to uncover or reshape.

"You don't have anything if you don't have the stories."

— Leslie Marmon Silko, Laguna Pueblo, in *Rethinking Columbus*, 1998, p. 114

Easily, the majority of lived experience has not been documented. And yet it nevertheless has had huge relevance and significance for the people who lived it. If we have not personally shared in some experiences nor visited certain places that witnessed full-blown human activity, we still need to recognize that our ignorance does not erase those very real lives, does not make those places any less known or inhabited to those who were and still are present on such landscapes or in such communities. We must strive not to be complacent in our ignorance. Many lessons await us in the greater variety of human experience across the vast stretches of time and space that still deserve our open appreciation. If one in a thousand people has kept a journal, are the other 999 of us represented in that one person's account of life experiences? We will have a much richer sense of the past and the lessons we can take from it if we can uncover more of the true range and variety of experiences.



Journal written during a stay at the East Fork Cabin in Denali National Park in 2013. Public domain photo hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/dena/historyculture/arts-program-past-artists.htm>

For us to reinterpret and revisit how the past was once framed, packaged, and delivered, and try to do a better job of being more inclusive in crafting histories, we must remember that we bring our own lenses and filters to our interpretations. This calls for us to be self-reflexive and openly examine our own processes of intellectual composition. We can also strive to uncover more voices, to be as honest and faithful to our sources as we can, and help our readers and learners see the path we have followed to reach our conclusions.

We hope that our students will be able to consider and weigh the logic of what we put forth and still come to their own conclusions. We want them to find their own truths, passing through their own filters the evidence that they will learn to assemble with our guidance. The discovery, elevation, and discussion of neglected and revisited perspectives—and the creation of more broadly relevant and inclusive resources for learning—help us embrace our craft with enthusiasm, energy, and determination.

History is a discipline that can be divided into sub-specializations, such as social history, cultural history, political history, economic history, intellectual history, and environmental history, just to name a few. Ethnohistory is a type of history (and, according to some, a sub-field of anthropology) that has the history of Indigenous peoples as its focus.⁷ When it emerged in the 1950s, ethnohistory sought an insider's view of Indigenous people's history, turning away from the "othering" methods of the past.⁸ Ethnohistorians have tended to follow the Western tradition of relying on documents, but they are increasingly seeking such records that might have been authored by Native people while also incorporating their oral traditions, languages, maps, art, music, place names, archaeological records, and more.⁹ The concept of sources is, happily, broadening and breaking



Detail from an Indigenous-authored manuscript from sixteenth-century, central Mexico in the Benson Collection of the Latin American Library at the University of Texas, Austin; photo by Stephanie Wood with permission.

through earlier historiographical limitations. The exciting curricular unit by one of our featured curriculum designers, Carol Buswell, called "Exploring Your Community," builds on an array of resources from the National Archives, Library of Congress, Museum of the American Indian, and Tribal oral histories from the Tribal Legacy Project (National Park Service), guides students in research-discovery and methods for analyzing writing, drawing, oral histories, photographs, videos, and audio recordings, understanding these sources using both mainstream and Native methodologies.

The study of history, regardless of the subdivisions, has commonly been the study of change over time. How cultures and societies evolve is what historians strive to understand. What has changed, how has it changed, and why? What has remained much the same or what has persisted despite countervailing encroachments and corrosive effects? How is it that these things have persisted?

The answers to such questions can help us endeavor to understand cultural continuities and longevity, especially within context. Understanding context is essential—the conditions and the confluence of circumstances that have allowed people to make a difference, whether achieving change or defending tradition. Recognizing the forces at work in change and in perseverance and persistence can also be empowering, as it can make us more aware of the potential impact of our own actions and the beneficial agency or influence we can have in our communities.

Context and causal relationships are also essential for examining the trajectories and intersections of Native American and Euro-American histories. We might say that nothing was inevitable. Governmental actions were usually calculated and intentional. Individual's actions—such as the “pioneers” or “settlers” seeking opportunity on what was for them a supposedly “open frontier”—also had serious consequences, for the West was not by any means unoccupied or freely available for the taking. The resulting historical trauma was very real and spanned generations, and the effects last to this day, through personal recollections of painful injustices.

A strong urge to expand territorial boundaries and build empires brought people into contact, and exchanges covered a range of expression—from combative to constructive, discordant to harmonious, and destructive to creative.

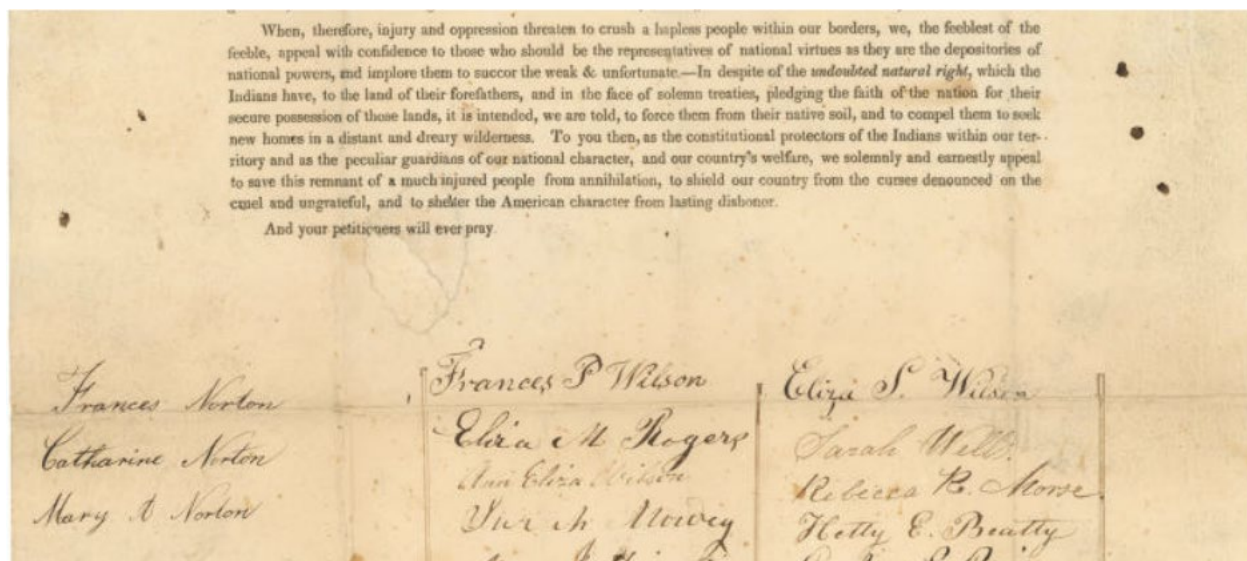
— Stephanie Wood

Our colleague Dick Basch tells the story of Clatsop Chief Tostom (also spelled Toostum)¹⁰ of Warrenton, Oregon, who, in the mid-nineteenth century, was disgraced to see part of the old longhouse being taken for the construction of a mansion to house the owner of the new logging company. Meanwhile, the chief was left to live in an old hut. This so disturbed the local Indian agent that he wrote a letter asking people not to disturb the honorable man, to let him go freely in the town and in the countryside. When we pause to reflect on the indignities that the chief had to endure, we know that this was one of innumerable painful injustices.

Native peoples paid a huge price for the Westward Movement, whether their blood was spilled or they were forced to relocate, leave Ancestral lands, and abandon cherished ways of life. Acknowledging their pain is both difficult and necessary. Those whose attachment to the land reached back through time immemorial felt the trauma far more deeply than anyone else. We must acknowledge that, whether through violent or peaceful exchanges, the results of the Westward Movement were compounded by a catastrophic demographic collapse and cultural losses that many recognize as genocide.¹¹



Detail of a mural by Jacquie Cordova in Susanville, California, showing Captain Weatherlow negotiating settlement with Chief Winnemucca. Photo by Stephanie Wood, with permission from the artist.



Detail of a memorial signed by more than 60 non-Native women of Ohio, protesting "Indian removal" and the potential "annihilation" of Indigenous people in Ohio. Public domain image from the U.S. House of Representatives, 1830; National Archives; retrieved from [http://docsteach.org/documents/306633/detail?mode=browse&menu=closed&era\[\]=expansion-and-reform&page=5](http://docsteach.org/documents/306633/detail?mode=browse&menu=closed&era[]=expansion-and-reform&page=5).¹²

Elizabeth Cook Lynn (Nakota and Dakota) reflected in the Tent of Many Voices about how "the historical trauma that has been confronted by Indians is real; it's a real thing. It can't be dismissed. It can't just be shoved under the table." She adds that, "in the new history that we're trying to . . . promote" we need to have "critical analysis." We need to recognize that the Lewis and Clark expedition was "an illegal intrusion into sovereign Indian nation territories, sponsored by the U.S. government...And its result was the death to thousands and thousands of Indians, degradation of the environment, genocide, and the theft of land."¹³

"Saying that European atrocities in the Western Hemisphere were 'unavoidable' (or that the perpetrators of genocide were only 'products of their time') dulls our sense of injustice regarding events both past and present."

— Philip Tajitsu Nash and Emilienne Ireland, in *Rethinking Columbus*, 1998, p. 112

Terminology, or a study of the terms we choose and what we mean by them, can both hinder the delivery of a message and help it soar. "Genocide" is one such term, so powerful and pivotal that it can have enormous impact. Yet we have also seen how it can distract writers or readers into obsessing about definitions and getting side-tracked by applicability debates. Discussions over

terms do seem to have a place in the classroom, however, as they can open up our minds, lead to healthy discussion, and deepen our understanding of the weighty role of interpretation in history writing. They help us identify ethical issues and lay bare our value judgments and biases. Perhaps, through Honoring Tribal Legacies, we can identify terms worthy of more careful examination and exploration, elucidating at least some "working definitions" or elements for consideration. We must also maintain environments that are safe and respectful for addressing difficult topics where opinions and perspectives may range widely and have the potential for demoralization.

Cultural Persistence and Change

Honoring Tribal Legacies entails recognizing and embracing Indigenous traditions passed down through the generations. The contributions of one's parents, grandparents, and really all Ancestors to our present wellbeing, our way of life, and our cultural knowledge are worthy of great honor. Recognizing the special efforts and achievements, the care, and the hard work of those who came before is a process that reminds us of our origins and strengthens pride in our identities. When we know where we came from, when we celebrate the legacies of generations, we have a better sense of who we are.



Lolita Capoman and her daughter.
Courtesy of the National Park Service.

A history that highlights examples of cultural persistence and an analysis of how Native people have been able to retain their Ancestral ways of life can be inspirational. To speak of survivals can entail the rightful celebration of cultural persistence in the face of what are sometimes terrific odds. Tribal legacies are myriad, including an enormous range of ways of observing the sacred, engaging the environment in a sustainable way, building structures for habitat and for moving across water, making textiles and pottery, gathering and preparing foods and medicines, formulating oratory and maintaining storytelling, showing respect for elders, remembering Ancestors, educating youth, and coming together for ceremonies and celebrations, to name a few essential elements in daily life. Recalling and elucidating these and additional ways of being help us know and appreciate our Ancestors' efforts to keep culture alive and endow us with invaluable gifts for facing the future.

For some, it may pose a challenge to speak about traditions and their survivals without seeming “old-fashioned.” Tony Incashola (Salish and Pend d'Oreille) said in the Tent of Many Voices, “It's very difficult to try to convince our young people the importance of language, the importance of culture.”¹⁴ Youth sometimes feel that tradition holds them hostage, or that they are trapped or imprisoned by rituals, when they might wish to be like youth anywhere—wearing the clothing and listening to the music of non-Native groups. Incashola adds, “our children would rather play [video] games, watch television than sit with someone and listen and learn . . . one of our biggest competitors is modern technology.” In fact, perhaps youth can take an active role in keeping culture alive, while also serving as innovators, as agents for change from within. Incashola suggests that technology can be used to teach culture. Such change can therefore be good. We sometimes forget that change is not always imposed by colonizers. Canadian scholars such as David Schaepe of the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre suggest that “cultural change is as likely to be the outcome of Indigenous agency as coercive colonialism,” and “continuity should be no more or less valued in an assessment of [I]ndigenous society than innovation.”¹⁵

It might be worth discussing with elders and youth the extent to which change can be both desirable and detrimental. Change might pose a risk, but it might not necessarily erase what is



Odessa Oldham, Native of Wyoming, celebrating Native American Indian Heritage Month in Washington, D.C., November 2011; published by Wikimedia Commons (no copyright); retrieved from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:20111116-OHRM-RBN-Nat.Am.Ind.Heritage_-_Flickr_-_USDAgov.jpg

guide changes to culture in a way that still respects and honors the legacies of those who have come before us? Bringing increased honor to Tribal legacies may infuse youth with greater motivation and pride around cultural preservation, even as they may cherish the ability to innovate.

Well-meaning outsiders, too, sometimes want to spray Native cultures with some kind of fixative that will preserve them unchanged, making them into “museum cultures” and erasing their dynamism. Can we Honor Tribal Legacies while also appreciating adaptability? Historian Steve Stern wrote a book about change within Indigenous cultures of the Andes in Spanish colonial times in which he has a chapter called, “The Tragedy of Success,” lamenting ways people adapted to intrusions. He saw the ability of people to adapt to intrusions as a type of “success,” but also saw that it could be “tragic” in that some cultural distinctiveness would be lost in the process.¹⁶

This consideration intersects with discussions about “authenticity.” It asks, is this style or manner “authentic”?¹⁷ Some historians are looking for purity in Native ways, cultural elements that are untouched by outsiders, or “uncontaminated.” Yet, even before Europeans were on the scene,

essential about the core identity of an individual, his/her place within a Tribe, and the values and beliefs that shape thought and action. Youth and elders can engage in mutually respectful conversations about working together to preserve culture and being flexible enough to allow for some innovation. For example, weaving traditions might incorporate new fibers, colors, or designs, while weaving techniques might still retain knowledge that comes from elders. To what extent and under what circumstances are changes welcomed? How will youth properly navigate between tradition and innovation? Might we embrace the idea that culture is and will always be dynamic? Can we trust our youth to introduce and



A basket weaving exercise at the Family Activity Center, National Museum of the American Indian; photo in public domain; retrieved from <http://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2011/04/come-try-your-hand-at-weaving.html>

Indigenous peoples across the hemisphere had known migration, and they had known contact and trade with other Indigenous cultures. Chocolate Ground cacao residue in ancient pots found in archaeological sites, for example, is widespread, from what we now call North America into Central America, and this speaks to a very long-distance trading network, for cacao originates in the Maya zone, in what is now called Guatemala.¹⁸ Tropical feathers and copper moved north and turquoise moved south, following similar, long-standing routes of exchange.¹⁹

Language families also show connections between Tribes across sometimes considerable distances, and specific terms borrowed across languages also reveal a history of contact and exchange. A map of Native languages of North America, alone, shows the impressive geographical reach of Athabascan, Algonquian, Siouan, and Uto-Aztecan languages, among others.²⁰ Both cooperation and conflict between Tribes has also characterized the past and the present. Perhaps this collective enterprise of Honoring Tribal Legacies, this reaching out to more than 40 Tribes across the many modern states that encompass the trails followed by Lewis and Clark, and the tribal Ancestors who shared similar experiences, can lead to greater strength in unity as we face the future. Tribes had often formed crucial alliances. The archaeological site of Blood Run, on the border between the modern states of Iowa and South Dakota, reveals important inter-Tribal relationships prior to European arrival, where people came together from multiple ethnicities to settle and create a trading center.²¹

Thus, cultural mixing is age-old, and, while it will sometimes lead to conflict and loss, it can also be a positive force that injects communities with items of preciousness, leads to a sharing of

methods or technologies that might be embraced as favorable, or helps build crucial alliances and systems of mutual support.

Trying to understand the formation of combinations of cross-cultural, expressive forms and practices, or what some historians call “cultural hybridity,” is another intellectual pursuit among historians in our day. Scholars strive to understand how people adopt—and even more interesting and realistic, *adapt*—new cultural elements, modifying them and making them their own. Once again, we can easily find in the huge variety of tribal legacies room to appreciate positive human contributions—as opposed to a simple passivity or being acted *upon*—in shaping cultural change.



Eleventh-century Chaco Canyon (New Mexico) chocolate pot. Chocolate residue has also been found 300 years earlier in pottery from Utah. Public domain photo; American Museum of Natural History, retrieved from <http://www.amnh.org/explore/news-blogs/news-posts/curious-collections-chocolate-pots-from-chaco-canyon>.

Cultural hybridity is the product of what some call “transculturation” processes. Fernando Ortiz says transculturation is:

a set of ongoing transmutations; it is full of creativity and never ceases; it is irreversible. It is always a process in which we give something in exchange for what we receive: the two parts of the equation end up being modified. From this process springs out a new reality, which is not a patchwork of features, but a new phenomenon, original and independent.²²

Transculturation injects our filter with greater equality toward potential input from both sides of an equation. This approach seeks to moderate or replace what some once saw as “acculturation,” “deculturation,” or “assimilation.” As Gerard Baker (Mandan and Hidatsa) said in the Tent of Many Voices, “the only way for them to survive on the East Coast was to assimilate, assimilate or die, basically,” and people would not

admit that they were “part Indian,” because you would be “considered a second-class citizen.”²³ Assimilation has often been approached as though it implies the appropriation of a different and preferable way of life. Assimilation has also been seen as the acceptance (forced or not) of imposed

values. It is a dirty word in many Indigenous communities, for it is a concept that has often assumed a unidirectional path of change—from Native toward “civilized”/“white”/“European.” This stems from a European Enlightenment notion of progress. To assume that Indigenous peoples were not civilized is a ridiculous assumption that we must reject the instant it arises.

Assimilation assumes that prior cultural ways are abandoned upon the acceptance of ways from intruding cultures. And yet it is possible to accept some new ways of living and thinking without losing core values and beliefs. We must also be on guard against the thinking that change only goes one way. In fact, what we must hold in the forefront of our minds is that cultural encounters usually result in all groups being changed by the others in myriad ways. The exchange of information and technologies was the hallmark, not unilinear assimilation. Loanwords from Indigenous languages that have entered English underscore the fact that culture change was not unidirectional.²⁴ Clearly, Native peoples and their cultures impacted Euro-Americans in innumerable ways.

The idea of “transculturation” may bring more balance and less negativity to our assessment of encounters along the trail. It recognizes that human beings in even the most difficult circumstances can be creative, they can build, they can negotiate with opponents, and they can re-appropriate. According to this approach, through transculturation, identities become more complex, continental, holistic, and pluralistic, “without negating ‘ethnic,’ political, and cultural distinctive features.”

— Interdisciplinary Research Group on the Americas²⁵

Social and Cultural Identities

In seeking to honor Indigenous cultural survivals, it behooves us to take a closer look at the formulation of social and cultural identities, which can be a source of pride, affect how we see other people, and color the way we view intercultural interactions. Histories of “Native” people also quickly call into question what we mean by “Native.” And should we refer to Euro-Americans as “whites”? Or should we recognize the diversity in the non-Native category (Latino/a, African-American, and the array of Euro-Americans, such as people with Scandinavian, British, Irish, Germanic, Eastern

European, or Mediterranean heritage, among others)? Identity questions affect how we describe people in history, how we perceive their actions, and how we might become attached to outcomes.

What is the correct terminology: American Indian, Indian, Native American, or Native?

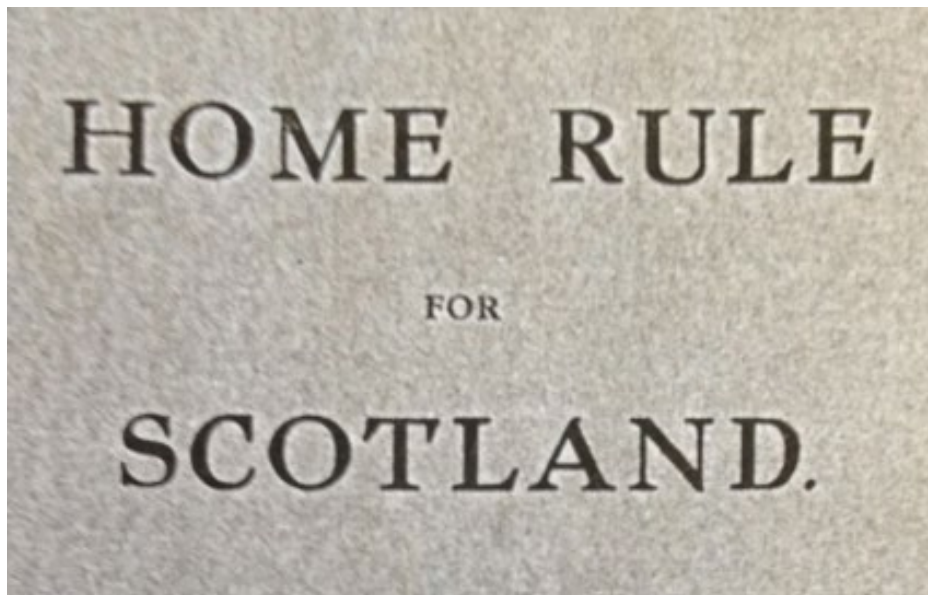
All of these terms are acceptable. The consensus, however, is that whenever possible, Native people prefer to be called by their specific tribal name. In the United States, *Native American* has been widely used but is falling out of favor with some groups, and the terms *American Indian* or *indigenous American* are preferred by many Native people.

The "Did You Know?" web page of the National Museum of the American Indian offers guidance about terminology. Public domain image; retrieved from <http://nmai.si.edu/explore/forfamilies/resources/didyouknow/#2>.

Who are we as people? Do we have affiliations with certain cultures or ethnic groups, social classes, gender identities? How do we identify ourselves? What constitutes a Tribal affiliation? Can we be members of groups and still be individuals with our own unique identities? How do our affiliations affect the way we live, the choices we make, the way we act, the way we relate to one another? And how have such identities evolved over time, engaging us in dialogues and affecting our interactions with others?

These are heady questions without easy answers. Group identity often derives from a perceived sameness or shared trait, such as a common descent, or by like membership in a social organization. Our groups are partly defined by what sets us apart, or how we differ from other groups. Because all humans may share a common origin, some people will emphasize a family relationship with other people, calling them brothers, sisters, and so on, even when the physical consanguinity (blood relationship) might be distant. The desire to link to others in this way helps forge a shared group identity. Many additional elements in our lives can add to our linkages with other human beings.²⁶ We (and they) might identify with a particular place, have a shared name, history, religion, language, or way of life. Our collaboration in this project Honoring Tribal Legacies brings together Natives from different Tribes and non-Natives with multiple origins. We embrace this task with a unity of purpose, love, and enthusiasm despite some differences that in other circumstances might have divided us.

We might also ask: What kinds of identity groups are identifiable as “ethnicities”? What is ethnicity? What characterizes our own ethnic groups or other people's groups? I have a strong identification with Scottish heritage, retaining many of the ways and practices of my grandmother, who was from Glasgow. This heritage leads me, I believe, to relate to other colonized peoples in the world, because the Scots struggled for ages for increased autonomy from English colonizers, historically pressing them for a greater measure of “home rule.”



A treatise from 1911 from a Scottish emigrant living in New Zealand, calling for sovereignty for Scotland vis-a-vis England. Image out of copyright, retrieved from <http://thescottishdiaspora.co.uk/?tag=home-rule>.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines “ethnic” as being “of or relating to large groups of people classed according to common racial, national, Tribal, religious, linguistic, or cultural origin or background.”²⁷ While this definition mentions race, some will see racial differences as semi-fictional, given that scientists have discovered that biological differences based on genetics are very weak, with the exception of skin color. Ethnicity partly binds people together around “a real or a presumed common genealogy or Ancestry,” but it is also socially and culturally determined.²⁸

Ethnicities can be linked with the concept of membership in a “nation.” The Greek word “ethnos,” from which ethnicity derives, is often translated “nation,” although it was originally “used in reference to a band, Tribe, race, a people, or a swarm.”²⁹ Sometimes a whole nation will embrace a certain ethnicity, such as we have seen in the Mexican promotion of “mestizaje” (a process that has led to a mixed heritage of Indigenous, European, and sometimes African Ancestors) and

the emergence of a twentieth-century ethno-nationalism. The latter is expressed, for example, in symbols such as the brown-skinned Virgin of Guadalupe, treasured even among Mexicans who do not self-identify as Catholic. In any ethnic group, one can find that such symbolic representations can be created, reproduced, and transformed with time. Some endure, and some are dynamic.

Ethnicities have also often been seen as “minorities” within a nation. Here we see a “them” and “us” dichotomy emerging, as was embedded in colonial history or in representations of the period when vast numbers of immigrants came into the United States, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. “Ethnocentrism” also grew in that period when descendants of “pilgrims” rejected later European arrivals (and they had rejected peoples on the land since time immemorial, to boot), seeing their own identities as superior. Ethnocentrism led to the belittling of other ethnic groups and derision expressed toward the material culture, behaviors, practices, and the way others looked. “Othering” was a part of this process, although that term was not coined until late in the twentieth century.

Vitally, how do we avoid “essentializing” and stereotyping ethnic groups, whether our own group or that of others? ³⁰ How should we identify others? How do we do this without devolving into racism and stereotyping? Suggestions for approaching this minefield might include being careful to avoid mass generalizations and to be aware that we might more easily describe ourselves with some accuracy than we might describe others. We should strive to be aware of our prejudices. We should navigate with an eye to fairness and balance.

If we accept the “interconnectedness and interdependence among all elements of life,” mentioned in our Learning Spiral and the Tribal Legacy website, we can even strive to find love and appreciation for all peoples and all living and nonliving things in our shared environment.

— Stephanie Wood

Another very relevant consideration for embracing place-based histories and multiple literacies includes the question, to what extent does place intersect with group and individual identity? Indigenous people are often working to strengthen their political rights, and this can be linked to competition over access to agricultural lands and waters, very specific places and spaces. As we look at the way we will write or teach history, we should consider our relationships with the land. Do we have a homeland that we embrace, and what meaning does it hold for us? How have our identities intersected with others' identities, and how have they evolved over time, whether on a stable homeland or on a shifting landscape, as we have faced relocation or have voluntarily moved from rural areas to urban, for example?



A Montana landscape, 2013. Photo by Stephanie Wood.

Tribal citizenship is often determined by “blood quantum,” which connects to older ideas of race and yet continues in our codes and laws to have a powerful influence in defining the rights of many American Indians. The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) offers an open-source, two-part, video podcast dating from 2011 called, “Quantum Leap: Does ‘Indian Blood’ Still Matter?”³¹ The presentation/discussion includes input from two sociologists, an anthropologist, and a museum historian. Paulette Jordan (Coeur d'Alene) took a question on marriage and blood quantum in the Tent of Many Voices in 2006, and she said, “that is the most complex question you could answer in Indian country right now.”

The NMAI also hosts a video podcast that adds African heritage to the mix: “indiVISIBLE: African-Native American Lives in the Americas,” which is a record of a standing-room-only event from 2009 that addressed blended communities and ways of life.³² On the eastern seaboard, especially, Native Tribes counted members who had intermarried with African Americans. Non-Natives, however, given their racialized views, saw people of mixed Indian and African-American heritage as Black, erasing the Native component all too readily.³³

Form 1 2761 REGISTRATION CARD No. 124

1 Name in full *Garnett Smiser* Age in yrs. *22*

2 Home address *Gen Del Caddo, Okla*

3 Date of birth *Mar 23 1895*

4 Are you (1) a natural-born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)? *Natural born Cit*

5 Where were you born? *Oloka Okla U.S.A.*

6 If not a citizen, of what country are you a citizen or subject?

7 What is your present trade, occupation, or office? *Gen Oilfield work*

8 By whom employed? *Okmulgee Okmulgee*

9 Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 17, or a sister or brother under 17, solely dependent on you for support (specify which)? *Wife and 2 babies*

10 Married or single (which)? *Married* Race (specify which)? *Caucasian*

11 What military service have you had? Rank *Private* branch *Cavalry*

12 Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)? *wife and babies dependent wholly 3 years do other*

I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.

Garnett Smiser (Signature of registrant)

Form 1 2761 REGISTRATION CARD No. 46

1 Name in full *Ira McDougal Smiser* Age in yrs. *23*

2 Home address *Caddo Okla*

3 Date of birth *Dec 5th 1893*

4 Are you (1) a natural-born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)? *Natural born citizen*

5 Where were you born? *Atoka Ind Terr, U.S.A.*

6 If not a citizen, of what country are you a citizen or subject?

7 What is your present trade, occupation, or office? *Gen Keeper The Pass Co*

8 By whom employed? *Caddo Okla*

9 Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on you for support (specify which)? *No*

10 Married or single (which)? *Single* Race (specify which)? *Indian*

11 What military service have you had? Rank *No*

12 Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)?

I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.

I. M. Smiser (Signature of registrant)

World War I draft registration cards for two brothers named Smiser show one being described as "Caucasian" and the other as "Indian." Both had red hair and blue eyes. Their mother was apparently Choctaw. Public domain image in the National Archives, retrieved from <http://www.archives.com/genealogy/family-heritage-native-american.html>

My children are part Cherokee, but they do not qualify for Tribal membership and they did not grow up in an Indigenous milieu. Nevertheless, having at least two female Ancestors of not-too-distant Native origin, how will my children's lives be affected by this legacy? How will this heritage manifest itself? How are beliefs and practices preserved and inherited when one is removed from communities of origin? How do parents pass things on to their children, and how do such practices and perspectives survive across multiple generations?

At the other end of the spectrum, for people who grew up in a Native community (and how do we define that, as social, cultural, and/or geographic?), might an association with place penetrate their very being? How does it shape the way we see the larger “world”? “Place” can be a physical space we occupy with other members of a group. Each individual in the group may have a unique way of connecting to that place, but we often hold in our imagination a sense of the place as a shared space. It may be where our Ancestors once walked. It may be where their remains lie. It may be where individuals share memories imbedded in narratives that they embrace as a family, a lineage, or a community. The occupation of a place and our identification with it can provide us with security and stability despite the passage of time or *because* of the passage of time, such as (the immeasurable) time immemorial. The passage of time in a given place can lead to the formation of strong social ties.

A continuing connection to a place can give us a hope for the future, for coming generations, for our children, for our grandchildren.

— Stephanie Wood

Featured curriculum designer Julie Cajune's secondary-school unit, "*Sx̣ẉjws*: The Journey," highlights how place shapes so many facets of a people's society. Her cultural geography approach has as its focus the homelands of the Salish People, where land served as church, store, hospital, refuge, and more. She asks her students questions about sacred creation stories associated with this territory, and how it was named, described, and interpreted. The work of another featured curriculum designer, Shana Brown, called "A Thousand Celilos," also probes Tribal naming practices with regard to Columbia River places, how Native people interacted with the natural

and the built environment, and how they occupied and moved through a riparian space (one that became flooded as a result of damming, completely changing the dynamic).

In a book about Columbia River identities, Andrew Fisher speaks about “renegade” Indigenous groups who intentionally avoided contact with Tribal agents and with the U.S. government’s “Americanization” programs. The distrust and the resulting distance of these off-reservation groups allowed them to forge their own identities connected with traditional fishing economies. They apparently had a “sense of racial and Tribal distinctiveness,” that served them well, even if their resolute refusal to be relocated cost them something in the way of their legal status.³⁴

Fisher’s book reminds us of how non-Indian definitions of “Indian” and “Tribe” have been imposed on Native peoples. We must look for ways Tribal people have forged their own definitions of Tribal affiliation. It would be good to remember, too, that non-Tribal Indigenous people, often in the shadows somewhere between reservations and the non-Native world, have consciously shaped their identities in ways that have improved their lives.

Between 2010 and 2050, the combined American Indian and Alaska Native population of the United States is projected to grow from 1.7% to 2%.

[Source: Center for Disease Control and Prevention website, retrieved from <http://www.cdc.gov/minorityhealth/populations/REMP/aian.html>.]

The exercise of looking at some of the component parts of Indigeneity may help us appreciate diversity and the complexities of identities. It may help us steer clear of simplistic and essentialist notions of identity. Nevertheless, Indigeneity may also have easily recognizable hallmarks that give meaning to people’s lives, helping them make an argument for Tribal autonomy, sovereignty, self-governance, special considerations within the realm of human rights, or cultural and linguistic preservation programs, to name several potential effects.³⁵ Terry Brockie (Gros Ventre) said in the *Tent of Many Voices*, “we’re a ‘we’ people, not a ‘me’ people,” when trying to explain American Indian society.³⁶ Teachers might explore with their students what kind of meaning being “Indigenous” (and other terms, such as Indian, Amerindian, Native American, Native, etc.) holds for them, as a launching pad for a fruitful discussion about Honoring Tribal Legacies.

Being Indigenous intersects with place in crucial ways, as Julie Cajune (Salish), Shana Brown (Yakama), and other featured curriculum designers are showing us. Being Indigenous relates to origins and rights to occupy a territory or a space. It relates to a deep permanence of settlement, an attachment to the land. In dictionary terms, “Indigenous” refers to one who is “[b]orn or produced naturally in a land or region; native or belonging to (the soil, region, etc.).”³⁷ We may recognize an inherent comparison being made here that emphasizes Indigenous people’s deep connection to a place versus that of more recently-arriving people’s connection to the same space. A late twentieth-century legal definition added to the place-based meaning includes an acknowledgement of the significance of colonization vis-à-vis Aboriginal, Native, Original, or First Peoples. We see this in statements coming from the United Nations, for example.³⁸ Some scholars argue that we must be careful about taking a colonial approach that simplifies Indigeneity as something primarily primordial and primitive, borrowing inadvertently from older anthropological language or ways of thinking.³⁹

Returning to the individual level, and complicating our definitions, what happens when one must live away from home? What happens if one finds a partner from another Tribe or Indigenous community? What happens if one takes a partner from a non-Native group? Does it affect one’s (or one’s children’s) identity as Indigenous? In short, where should we locate “Indigeneity,” a relatively recently coined term that relates to the characteristics of Indigenous peoples? Pinning down Indigeneity can be more of a challenge, given the way individuals tend to navigate fluid identities within evolving social and cultural contexts. And yet exploring the meaning of Indigeneity can also involve a political expediency or usefulness. It can be a strategic element for improving lives, increasing independence and local authority, and reaffirming associations with specific territories.

We should remember that Indigenous perspectives are as varied as are those of any groups of human beings. We have on this earth many different Indigenous cultures, and within cultures we also find diversity of opinion, differing perspectives. We must take care not to assume we can combine all Indigenous perspectives into one monolithic point of view. And yet, can we—or should we—see if we can identify or describe frequently recurring Indigenous points of view or ways of thinking? Would this offer us support for preserving Tribal legacies?

No matter what, we should strive to collect multiple perspectives and help our students try to sort through them, examine where they come from, understand how they may have evolved the way they have. We can and should compare and contrast differing perspectives on the past: What happened? According to whom?

— Stephanie Wood

Including Diverse Voices

Historical sources can be oral, written, painted, and performative, among other types. We draw from such sources to build a narrative and/or analyses about the past. We have had all too few Indigenous sources contributing to the metanarrative about the U.S. West. Honoring multiple literacies broadens the range of resources upon which we can draw for our curricula. We should make our sources transparent, and cite their locations in archives or on line (or wherever they may be), so that others are able to retrace our footwork in locating them. Our readers and listeners may wish to go back and see what else can be learned from such records. Also, by increasing the visibility of diverse types of sources, and by making our methods transparent, history writers and teachers will come to appreciate the widening of possibilities in this line of work. Culturally responsive educators will focus on local ways of knowing and teaching, they will draw from community resources, they will participate in local activities with respect, they will see parents and local authorities as allies to conjoin in the effort of making classroom content and approaches more relevant.⁴⁰



Laura Ortman, a White Mountain Apache, collaborated in providing music for a video with Native voices at the National Museum of the American Indian, which hosts this public domain image, retrieved from <http://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2011/02/>.

To capture multiple perspectives, we must seek out multiple voices and strive to respect people's right to have a voice, to contribute to the historical record. We would be remiss if we did not recognize that some voices have been stifled or that others have been given undue attention. It is clearly worth our time to try to understand these processes and seek out the voices that have been lost or neglected.⁴¹ The curricular design work of Dr. Ella Inglebret points to the importance of not only hearing neglected voices, but also considering different forms of communication and the challenges of being understood, especially cross-culturally. Pat Bauerle (Crow) believes that "we are living in a wonderful time," when "our voice is being heard, our stories are being told, and [they] are considered valid," not that it was always that way.⁴²

Impressive efforts to compile Native voices include the anthology by Stephen Dow Beckham, *Oregon Indians: Voices from Two Centuries* (Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2006). This volume contains nearly 70 documents ranging from the late eighteenth century through the late twentieth. Beckham's 40 years of impeccable research allows him to present these first-person accounts with reliable contextualization and commentaries. A more contemporary compilation is *Native Universe: Voices of Indian America by Native American Tribal Leaders, Writers, Scholars, and Storytellers*, ed. Gerald McMaster (Plains Cree and Siksika Nation) and Clifford E. Trafzer (of Wyandot Ancestry) (Washington: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 2004). This collection is illustrated with outstanding images of material culture and art that could be very useful in teaching.

As noted above, we also have a vast store of Native voices from the Tent of Many Voices dating from the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration. The Tent gave Indigenous groups or Native peoples a chance to speak out about events in history that had often been told by Euro-Americans and from an expansionist governmental point of view. The Tent of Many Voices also recognized not only that we would have both Native and non-Native voices, but that there would be a diversity of Native voices. It was an inclusive process. Some conversations generated painful memories, but many generated pride, and all raised voices that were vital to hear, enriching our understanding of the past, engaging us in the present, and preparing us for the future.⁴³



A commemorative marker from the Corps of Discovery Bicentennial; a public domain image hosted by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, retrieved from <http://www.ngs.noaa.gov/LewisAndClark/images/disk.jpg>.

wilderness, nothing would ever be the same again. It was the most difficult of journeys, marked by extraordinary triumph and defeat.”⁴⁵ The defeat was experienced on all sides.

However, the loss of life, reduced territories, unfair treaties, and other forms of social injustice that Native peoples have faced is historical. It is a challenge to avoid the overriding assumption that the “Indian” was a “victim,” period.⁴⁶ For some of us, the “victims” line of inquiry can motivate us to be activists who donate our time to right (or write) wrongs and work to prevent future injustices. But dwelling on the consequences of colonization and its negative impacts can also be demoralizing and incapacitating. Deceptive treaties, the loss of life, the reduction of territories, removals, religious and educational abuses, and other dimensions of colonialism can lead to a cycle of despair whereby mental health suffers and people feel hopeless, sometimes abusing themselves and their families.

One of the many revisionist books that emerged in the period of the Bicentennial is *Lewis and Clark through Indian Eyes: Nine Indian Writers on the Legacy of the Expedition*. Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., has compiled this extremely useful paperback that one reviewer has called “unconventional, indeed revolutionary The most compelling Lewis and Clark-related book I’ve ever read It challenges almost every historical perspective I held about the expedition.”⁴⁴ N. Scott Momaday’s contribution to Josephy’s anthology concludes: “For the men who entered the unknown and returned, and for those who knew the land and watched from the heart of

Our desire for a journey of healing challenges us to seek out new approaches that strengthen us, ones that remind us of legacies that instill honor and pride.

— Stephanie Wood

It can be instructive to discuss with students how we can be certain to recognize oppression and its inter-generational impact without dehumanizing the peoples (and their progeny) who confronted those pressures. One approach is to remind our students that people resist. They find ways to cope and to respond constructively and creatively. When victimized, human beings will often dig deep to exercise some form of power, individual or collective, to respond. We push back against constraints on our freedoms, and the result can be inspiring and instructive.



This Idle No More t-shirt logo reflects recent Native activism that spans the Canadian/U.S. border. A design inspired by Indigenous artist Dwayne Bird of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Photo by Stephanie Wood with permission.

We must also remember that Native peoples have rarely remained isolated or completely separate from intruding cultures. And when they have come into contact with other groups, they have often approached these encounters in a positive way. It may be human nature to engage newcomers, to teach them things, to share things. Native peoples have known the land longer and more intimately. They have had the skills and knowledge that can be advantageous and make positive contributions to the new societies that would emerge through

encounters. This is a beautiful process that deserves recognition and a broad hearing. Capturing and conveying lessons about positive contributions requires the involvement of Native scholars and teachers in both the research and the teaching process. It involves compiling, making accessible, and consulting Indigenous-authored materials of many types as well as records created by non-Natives.

Sources and Methodologies

The historian's sources for prehistoric times are largely found in the archaeological record. Traditionally, historians did not see such information as falling within their purview, but they are increasingly crossing the disciplinary divide to see what they can learn from archaeological excavations that might help illuminate or expand the written record. Archaeologists are also meeting historians half way, getting more involved in the interpretation and presentation of data in museums. This process has been fraught, as we all know. The storage and display of sacred objects in non-Tribal repositories, and especially the display of human remains, spurred a movement of protest and policy adjustments that are on-going.⁴⁷ Partly as a result, we are seeing a wonderful new direction in this arena in the participation of Indigenous people in the creation of their own museums, integrating “artifacts” (read: sacred cultural items) with the analysis of documents, art, and oral tradition. Libraries and archives that are created and managed by Tribes are also multiplying.⁴⁸ We also have Tribal activism to thank for the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.⁴⁹

Davina Ruth Two Bears (Navajo) has published a study of the training of Native students in archaeology at the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department at Northern Arizona University



The Spokane Tribal Archaeology Crew conduct text excavations at Lake Roosevelt, a part of the Columbia River that was once an important trading center for American Indian Tribes. Photo by J.J. Sijohn, hosted by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, retrieved from <http://www.usbr.gov/cultural/protect.html>.

that presents a model for new directions. This takes “collaboration” much farther than the norm, whereby elders are more actively involved in the organization of the university department itself. A number of these program graduates have returned to their communities to work in cultural resource management positions that crucially shape displays and interpretations.⁵⁰

Archaeological discoveries are often also shared in field reports and now, increasingly, in documentary films. A wonderful venue for streaming open-access films of this type, without cost, is found in the The Archaeology Channel (TAC), based in Eugene, Oregon.⁵¹ The TAC actually serves films that go beyond archaeology. Entering “Native American” in the search window brings up 53 hits, including examples of Indigenous storytelling and a documentary about a Nakota rap singer from Fort Peck, Montana, among other films.⁵²



This is an archaeological site relating to the Hopewell Culture, National Historical Park, Ohio. Public domain photo hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=E9D6EAFD-E96D-5CFE-C5B6EE8E5602D34A>

Some documentaries made by anthropologists are more about community life than archaeology and fall into the category of ethnography or ethnology. Ethnographies can also take the form of field reports or books. Alfred W. Bowers, *Mandan Social and Ceremonial Organization* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950, 2004), presents one such study. Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa), who was so active at the time of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, has said that Bowers “actually knew and lived among” the Mandan and “wrote the most comprehensive book ever written about the Mandans as a people.”⁵³ Ethnographers can be Native and non-Native. The latter can be well integrated into the communities they research. But when they were not, we must

read them against the grain, striving to be vigilant about watching for the attitudes and othering practices of earlier periods. Many ethnographies are extremely detailed and serve as primary source materials, capturing content about ways of living that are not otherwise documented. We just have to handle them with caution and brace ourselves for potential prejudices.



Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa), Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, Washington, D.C., March 6, 2003; a public domain image in the National Archives, retrieved from <http://research.archives.gov/description/5612447>.

Written records have traditionally been the historian's first recourse for digging for data. The written legacy, however, is balanced in favor of perspectives from Euro-American culture. "Reading against the grain," whether or not that is what we have called it, is a method that we have probably often employed for approaching such sources for what we might learn about Indigenous history.⁵⁴ This

entails taking primary sources authored by non-Natives to see what we can gain from them to fill in the gaps in the histories of Indigenous communities, especially when we only have non-Native sources for a particular time and place. For example, when we look at the Lewis and Clark journals we know we will be getting a Euro-American, elite, male perspective on the peoples and places they encountered on their expedition. We can hold that in mind and be critical readers of what they say about Tribal peoples they encountered. Choosing a page at random we find, for instance, an incident in which a man named Reed had deserted the expedition after stealing a weapon and ammunition. When he was sentenced to running the gauntlet four times through, and the men in the party were required to whip him with switches as he ran through, we are told that three chiefs who were observing all this petitioned for Reed's pardon. When Clark says he explained his group's reasoning behind a punishment of that nature, the chiefs were satisfied and stood by as witnesses.

Reading against the grain will often raise questions that can bring insights even when we cannot ascertain the answers. For instance, were the chiefs objecting to the form of punishment because this was so unlike their own forms of punishment? Such questioning will encourage us

to dig for further information. In another text, a chief present at the whipping of a man named Newman supposedly cried until this punishment was explained to him. How satisfied these chiefs were, in reality, is not something the Euro-American authors would know. They only knew that the objections ceased. The concerns raised by the chiefs had clearly been palpable.⁵⁵

Flogging came to be outlawed in the United States in 1861. Lashes on a bare back came to be seen as a cruel and unusual form of punishment among Euro-Americans. It would be interesting to investigate more about Indigenous peoples' forms of punishment and how different cultures influenced one another in their practices of punishment. The Iroquois may have adopted the practice of having prisoners run the gauntlet from the French or English, for they were observed using it in 1641.

We can also read photographs against the grain, if you will. We have wonderful, one-of-a-kind pictures of Ancestors that were photographed by non-Natives. Some of these photos were “staged,” whereby the photographer tried to influence how the “subject” was dressed, what he or she would be holding, and what props might be included. The Major Lee Moorhouse photographic collection, now digital and served on line with open access, includes rare images of the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla Tribes of Oregon. Moorhouse was an Indian Agent for the Umatilla Reservation. Between 1888 and 1916 he captured more than nine thousand images that document Indigenous community life, rural and urban, in the Columbia River Basin. One can browse all that have been digitized, or one can ask to see subjects, places, and names.⁵⁶ The list of names, alone, could be instructive for a study of Native naming practices, where we see references to hawks, coyotes, and elk, to name a few examples.⁵⁷



Lee Moorhouse is seen in the back at the right. He is described as being in the company of "Umatilla, Paloos, and 2 white men;" public domain image in the National Archives; retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lee_Moorhouse#mediaviewer/File:Umatilla,_Paloos,_and_2_white_men_-_NARA_-_523642.jpg



A sculpture of Alice Cooper (1905) of "Sacajawea" (c. 1790–Dec. 20, 1812), a featured profile for Native American Heritage Month and hosted. Retrieved from <http://nativeamericanheritagemonth.gov/profiles/sacajawea.html>

Because much of history is based on what we can learn from written records, and because men, especially elite men, were more likely to have a formal (i.e. schooled) education and do the writing, and they tended to write about themselves or other men they encountered, our written sources usually have an elite male preference. This imbalance does not fully negate their value; it means they are useful for teaching us about those elite male sectors of white and Native societies. But to learn about the Tribal legacies left by men who have not yet been singled out in the historical record, or, even more of a challenge, legacies left by Native women, we again face the difficulty of looking for bits of information that we can piece together to learn more about our foremothers.

Sacagawea/Sakakawea/Sacajawea stands out in the histories of the Lewis and Clark episode because she was mentioned various times in the written records.⁵⁸ Sadly, we do not have a diary written in her own words, and much of her life remains a mystery. Still, we are able to pull together points of pride in her story, including the fact that she was able to travel while pregnant

and then with a newborn, she helped people find edible plants, she rescued important documents and supplies when a boat capsized, she aided with a purchase of horses, and her presence with the foreign intruders reduced tensions and suspicions about their purpose (something for which they were grateful, at least). Still, the gaps in the records have resulted in some controversies surrounding Sacajawea, reminding us that our sources are less than complete.⁵⁹



Randy'L Teton (Shoshone-Bannock/Cree), from the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, was the model for the dedicatory coin. Public domain image hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=A284D139-155D-4519-3EC04D2B31E81DB2>.

The craft of historical fiction involves another methodology we might wish to bring into our classrooms. Where we are lacking the first-person voices of Native women, we might enjoy the novelist's effort to put their stories into words, as though they were their own. Joseph Bruchac has done that with his novel, *Sacajawea*, which he tells from multiple points of view—that of William Clark (including some actual quotes from his journals), Sacajawea herself, and her son Jean Baptiste Charbonneau.⁶⁰ How do we judge the accuracy of such efforts to put words in the mouths of our forebears? Eileen Charbonneau, a contemporary relative of Sacajawea, writes on the

book jacket, “How pleased I am with your beautiful telling of my cousin’s story. I found it filled with a wonderful spirit and many things that have not been written about before.”⁶¹ If a relative embraces the story, that is a convincing measure of success.

Another way to extend the Sacagawea story is to round it out with a close examination of the culture from which she sprang or where she lived for many years. Thus, John W. W. Mann has created the study, *Sacajawea’s People: The Lemhi Shoshones and Salmon River Country*. If we do not learn much more about Sacajawea through this means, perhaps we can say that her legacy helped bring to light the struggle of the Lemhi Shoshones, who found their reservation liquidated in 1907, faced relocation, and who proudly preserved their own cultural uniqueness despite a proximity to more powerful and populous tribes around them.⁶²

While we have few if any words written by Native women in the period of the Lewis and Clark expedition, we do have writings, speeches, and quotes from Native men, especially chiefs.



The Lemhi Chief Tindoor, Southeastern Idaho, ca. 1897; a public domain photo in the National Archives, retrieved from <http://research.archives.gov/description/519297>

Native voices in the written record hold considerable value, given that they bring balance to the historical record. We must seek them out and share them with our students. These words deserve our careful attention and thought. Indigenous oratory is an art and a legacy that calls out for our appreciation. Methods for communicating in council, for involving those present, for seeking consensus, and so on, all have a potential for teaching us more democratic, respectful, and peaceful forms of speech in our lives today and in the future.

Kent Nerburn has compiled a book called *The Wisdom of the Native Americans*. These pieces of wisdom come from different periods of time, many of them more recent than the period of Lewis and Clark.

Nevertheless, they are clearly worthy of consideration. Nerburn is awed by the “uncompromising purity of insight and expression” this discourse conveys. He notes, too, the way such expressions were delivered: ⁶³

each person listened attentively until his or her turn came to speak, and then he or she rose and spoke without interruption about the heart of the matter under consideration. This tradition produced a measured eloquence of speech and thought that is almost unmatched for its clarity and simplicity.

This way of speaking has been witnessed broadly across Tribal communities and has an impressive longevity. This form of address, in itself, is a Tribal legacy worthy of great honor as we watch, in contrast, how people squabble and interrupt each other constantly, muddying their messages on political talk shows and presidential debates aired on television today.



Ohiyesa (also known as Charles A. Eastman) from the Frontispiece of the book, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1916). Out of copyright.

Ohiyesa (b. 1858, Dakota) is one person whose poetry is preserved in the volume of wisdom edited by Nerburn. Ohiyesa is a fascinating figure who went to the schools of the colonizers (Beloit, Dartmouth, and Boston University) and became a physician trained in Western medicine. He returned to the Midwest and lived again among his people. Finally, however, he settled in New Hampshire, created a camp, and tried to “recreate the experience of Sioux education and values for non-Indian children,” the reverse of the usual pattern of (colonial) education.⁶⁴

Among the many messages left by Ohiyesa, we find his rejoicing in the “gift of my people:”⁶⁵

Is there not something worthy of perpetuation in our Indian spirit of democracy, where Earth, our mother, was free to all, and no one sought to impoverish or enslave his neighbor? Where the good things of Earth were not ours to hold against our brothers and sisters, but were ours to use and enjoy together with them, and with whom it was our privilege to share?

The speeches of elders often contain examples of Native philosophy that can be laden with gems for the appreciation of today’s youth. They can enrich required units on “government” where “democracy” and “democratic values” might otherwise have a distinctly Euro-American slant. The wisdom of the chiefs also lends itself as a form of guidance for youth as they face the future with trepidation unsure of the kinds of people they want to be.

Our “situated practice” approach to curriculum development is invested with a desire for self-discovery, to know who we are and who we want to become.

— Stephanie Wood

“Honoring the elders who came before us,” is part of the “Since Time Immemorial–Tribal Sovereignty Curriculum” developed in the state of Washington in recent years.⁶⁶ A number of wonderful resources appear on line, available for teachers anywhere to use to enhance their classes. In part, the honoring has involved recognition of elders still in communities today, and in part, we are seeing curricular materials that resurrect the stories of leaders who lived long ago.

In one slide presentation offered by Since Time Immemorial, we learn about Cheech-Ma-Ham (b. 1808), who became a chief of the Klallams. He was over 40 years old when the first Euro-Americans came to Port Townsend in 1851. In that same year he traveled to San Francisco and saw the large number of settlers who had been drawn to California by the Gold Rush. As the encroachment of emigrants became exceedingly uncomfortable in his community, and war was contemplated, he counseled peace, having seen, perhaps, that this westward movement of “white” people was a tide that would be difficult to turn back. He also saw the benefit of having

the intruders purchasing fish and skins from his people and offering winter coats for sale. Although relocation and other negative effects of the Euro-American invasion would be felt deeply by the Klallams, the slide show emphasizes the positive contributions of the chief, including his role as a translator/interpreter, an escort/intermediary, an intercessor who secured freedom for imprisoned Tribal members and saved the life of someone about to be lynched by a mob, and as an insightful peacemaker who navigated a difficult period of high tension that might have led to a greater number of deaths.

Oral histories provide another rich type of resource for preserving cultural traditions and the positive contributions of Ancestors.

— Stephanie Wood

The history of Cheech-Ma-Ham comes to us through written records of the nineteenth century, and perhaps some oral traditions kept alive by his descendants and other community leaders. Oral traditions often have deep temporal roots, from time immemorial, and therefore represent a source that is very different from written documents. They are bursting with possibilities for a multiliteracies curricular approach. A discussion with students about the extent to which this type of cultural memory represents “history,” could be interesting. Pat Bauerle (Crow), speaking about oral history and perspective in the Tent of Many Voices, tells how storytellers often seek validation from listeners, welcome comparisons with multiple versions, and generally work to keep each other honest and build credence.⁶⁷ Rex Buck, Jr. (Wanapum), also discusses how oral traditions are kept by people who “have certain things that they take care of, and what we're telling you is the truth.”⁶⁸ But regardless of the assessments, such memories are vital to preserve and pass along as Tribal legacies. Stories, such as that of Cheech-Ma-Ham, are accessible to a wide range of learners.

The “Lewis & Clark Trail—Tribal Legacy Project” website contains short videos with stories that speak to multiple literacies. These include age-old stories, examples of traditional culture, references to the nature of contact with the expedition, information about what happened in the wake of that contact, the nature of contemporary life, and how Tribes are looking to the future.⁶⁹ We have a great range of material in this collection where we can locate stories for embedding in our curricula.



Screenshot of the Tribal Legacy Project splash page (partial), hosted currently by the University of Montana; retrieved from <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/main.php>

We can also take the book *Keepers of the Animals* (Caduto & Bruchac) as another example of oral traditions that have been collected—and now written down for us (in English) for our use in teaching. Vine Deloria, Jr., in the introduction, reminds us that animal stories have helped prepare children for understanding the world around them by emphasizing the virtues of animals. The stories have taught us “to be wise, gentle, brave, or cheerful.” They have pointed to human personality traits in the psychological descriptions of “coyotes, beavers, elk, bears, and so forth.”⁷⁰ The short



A howling coyote, photographed by Dave Hensley at the Fort Worth Zoo, retrieved from <http://flickr.com/photos/davehensley/5316950336/>, Creative Commons.

Mohawk story of the Rabbit Dance portrays the rabbit as a creature that delights in movement. People might go out to hunt but come home, instead, with a lesson learned from the wise rabbit. The rabbit dance moves in a circle, and that circle reminds us of the interconnectedness of life.⁷¹ It is remarkable that only recently in contemporary Western science have some practitioners begun to accept the fact that animals display an ability to mourn when they lose a loved one.⁷²

By showing connections between people and the animals with whom we share the natural world, we increasingly appreciate all forms of life and may become enjoined in a conservationist or “green” way of viewing our environment. During our summer institute for

designing curriculum to Honor Tribal Legacies in 2013, we created what we call the Eleventh Standard for the education of American youth. This asks that we "demonstrate environmental stewardship and a sense of service achieved through acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of humanity in historical, cultural, scientific, and spiritual contexts."⁷³ This derives from a greatly honored feature of Indigenous approaches to the life around us, but more than that, it makes sense for all of us who breathe our air and occupy our earth. Given that human beings are interdependent upon the natural world, our place-based approach to developing curriculum will also naturally allow room for us to consider the environment and its treatment in history. Featured curriculum designer Dr. Shane Doyle's secondary-school unit on the Apsáalooke Homeland, for example, demonstrates how the sustainable hunting and gathering practices on the Northern Plains region were fine-tuned through thousands of years of practice.

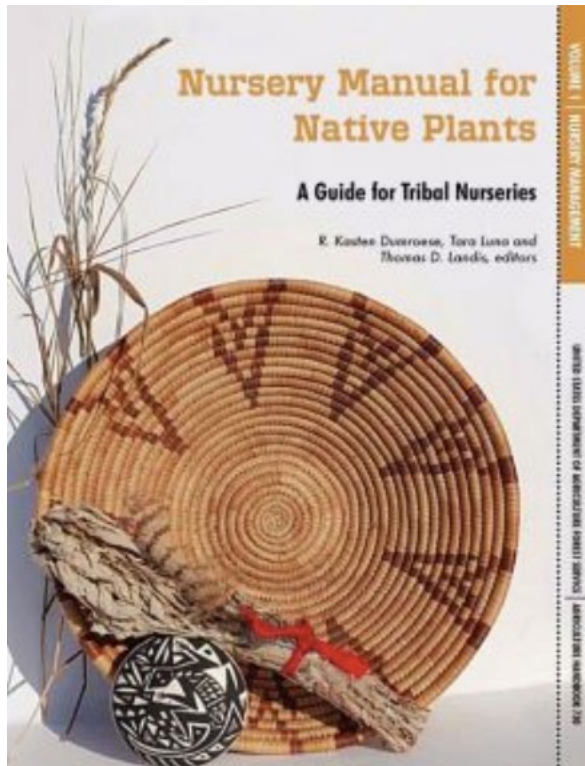
A great number of environmentalists have found the Lewis and Clark episode—and especially Native American contributions to this period in history—as ripe for exploring the state of knowledge about flora and fauna and their treatment in that period and to compare it to our practices today. The *Herbarium* that has been extracted from the journals of Lewis and Clark reveals



In her piece, “Ms. Coyote,” Paiute-Pit River artist Jean LaMarr turns on its head the usual male gendering of the coyote trickster, which the National Museum of the American Indian hosts on its website as an example of Indian humor; public domain image, retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/indian_humor/encore/art2/lamarr2.jpg.

a wealth of botanical knowledge that Western science gained as a result of the expedition.⁷⁴ At the same time, it reveals a drive to collect, to acquire, and to catalog nature—such a different approach from Indigenous relationships with the natural world. A curricular project that might bring greater balance to these works would search out more information on botanicals from Indigenous points of view. Non-Native authors Betty B. Derig and Margaret C. Fuller’s book, *Wild Berries of the West* (Missoula: Mountain Press,

2001), includes a wide range of berry families and, for each one, a section entitled “historical uses” that recognizes Native knowledge. Of broader reach is Erna Gunther, *Ethnobotany of Western Washington: The Knowledge and Use of Indigenous Plants by Native Americans* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973).



This 2011 publication from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, is evidence of the recent surge in interest in native plants and the proliferation of Tribal nurseries; public domain image, retrieved from http://img1.imagesbn.com/p/9781782662068_p0_v1_s260x420.JPG.

feeds it. She contemplates how the crow would like the rainwater that is “hitting the windows” and forming “red puddles” outside, for the rainwater would make the crow’s feathers soft. She holds a general affection for crows, who were once people who could “speak our tongues.” The crow keeps her company and understands “how hard it is to be old.”⁷⁵

In recent decades social studies teachers have increasingly experimented with using works of literature to enhance students’ understanding of cultural memory. This can be effective for units about the natural world, especially. Contemporary Native American short stories such as those collected by Lorie Marie Carlson, *Moccasin Thunder: American Indian Stories for Today*, can provide remarkable insights into Indigenous ways of thinking about flora and fauna. One delightful morsel is Linda Hogan’s (Chickasaw) story “Crow,” whose subject is a bird that makes Grandma “new and soft, a candlelight inside her.” The crow is a “heartbreaker” who nevertheless steadfastly rides on her shoulder, “pulls at the strands of her gray hair,” and thrives on the grain and corn that she



Carrion crow in flight. Photo by Mikko Karvonen. Retrieved from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hiljainenmies/3403462925/> Public domain image.

Just as literature is a non-traditional source for re-writing and embellishing history, we have music and song lyrics to enrich our curricular offerings. Some websites offering Native music for sale will also provide audio samples, such as Canyon Records⁷⁶ and the Dog Soldier Press, which provides Lakota sacred songs of healing, sung in their original language.⁷⁷ A website

called “Songs for Teaching: Using Music to Promote Learning” includes samples (with audio links) of Native American songs.

Wee Hee Nah is one such song, of possible Lakota origin, about a children’s “duck-catching” game. Two children make a bridge with their hands and other children walk under the bridge, singing and making a circle. At the end of the song, the hands fall around a “caught duck,” who then becomes one of the duck catchers, and the circle of life continues.⁷⁸ Here are the lyrics (which can also be heard in a short clip on line if you go to Songs for Teaching):

Wee hee nah wee hee nah hee nah

Wee hee nah hee nah

Wee hee nah

Wee hee nah hee nah

Wee hee nah hee nah

Hey ho!

A wonderful history of the significance of dance (“We’re a dancing people, always have been. . .”), and a celebration of the longevity of the powwow appear in Clyde Ellis’s book, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains*. While opportunities for dance have been constant, some of the dances have nevertheless evolved. In the 1940s, for instance, “female fancy dancers” began entering contests at the American Indian Exposition and other large powwows. It caused

quite a stir, and “audiences didn’t know quite what to make of it,” with women making war dances. When the Second World War ended, women’s fancy dancing died out, but then in the 1960s and 1970s women brought it back.⁷⁹



The Hidatsa form a circle here for a "scalp dance," as depicted by Karl Bodmer in 1832, reproduced on line by the Library of Congress (public domain), retrieved from <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/lewisandclark/lewis-landc.html>.

Colorful paintings of the third and fourth days of a Sun Dance, made by Short Bull in 1912, reside in the American Museum of Natural History. These records of the *Hunka* performance (Oglala Lakota) beautifully illustrate the dancers inside a circle, surrounded by teepees. This ceremony connects the Great God, the Earth, the Sun, the Sky, corn and meat, and it emphasizes generosity and sharing, according to a witness, James R. Walker, who observed it in 1912. Descriptions of performances and works of art that capture significant rituals such as this make additional sources that can embellish our curricula.⁸⁰ The art of making dance regalia is included in a beautiful children’s guide to Native American technology, food making, and story telling. Educational projects in this well designed volume include learning how to make leggings, armbands, cuffs, anklets, headbands, masks, turtle-shell rattles, and much more.⁸¹



Beautiful dance regalia of Native women worn during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial activities. A public domain image hosted by the National Park Service, retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=A284D139-155D-4519-3EC04D2B31E81DB2>

traditions—which are actually sacred for many communities—are “entertaining but archaic.” The idea of “archaic,” however, reminds us of the antiquity of such traditions and the relative newness of science. Is one superior to the other, or can there be room for both? Perhaps it is a matter of belief and perspective; Caduto and Bruchac point out that the science of ecology is not in conflict with Native beliefs that teach us how “all the living and nonliving parts of the Earth are one and that people are a part of that wholeness.”⁸³

Caduto and Bruchac include in the books they have created for classrooms a handy map of Native North America showing regional divisions and the location of Tribes within regions. Maps and geography have often been central to Western historical inquiry. We might take a fresh look at maps as a part of our place-based curriculum design that shifts appreciation to Native ways. In her unit, “Tribal Legacies of Pathfinding,” featured curriculum designer Dr. Carmelita Lamb, reminds us how Indigenous sources of navigational knowledge were crucial to the Corps of Discovery’s journey and impacted their maps. Native land-based points of reference were essential for the

The same authors who brought us *Keepers of the Animals* have also published *Keepers of the Earth: Native American Stories and Environmental Activities for Children*. One of the points they raise is how environmental studies can bring to the fore a “clash” between “science and Indian beliefs.” This is a valuable topic for discussion in the classroom, and the readings in their book provide concrete examples that can illuminate such differences. Does the Earth represent an “accretion from the solar nebula” or did it come into being as the cargo of an enormous turtle, standing on the back of another turtle, and so on, “all the way down”?⁸²

Some have said that creation stories from oral

journey of the Corps of Discovery and were incorporated into the final map of the expedition that President Thomas Jefferson received in 1814.



The Columbia River as mapped by the Corps of Discovery and as presented to Jefferson in 1814; public domain image of the U.S. Geological Survey, retrieved from http://volcanoes.usgs.gov/observatories/cvo/Historical/LewisClark/Historical/Maps/byu-archives_map_lewis_clark_columbia_east_1814.jpg



A Chiricahua Apache Gutáisi'á' (hide painting) about a puberty ceremony. Made by Nichea, c. 1900. Photo by Ernest Amoroso, hosted on the website of the National Museum of the American Indian. Retrieved from <http://nmai.si.edu/sites/1/files/images/exhibitions/021417-426.jpg>

Mapping was, of course, one of the primary objectives of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Mapping coincided with territorial expansion, and as such, it can seem abhorrent to those whose prior territorial jurisdictions suffered from the colonial push westward. But maps can also lay bare the motivations of Euro-Americans. Maps can reveal how those moving west saw themselves and how they depicted others, for dominion and identity are inherently bound up in Western mapping as the work of our contributing author, James Walker, illuminates.

A useful exercise might be to look in the journals of Lewis and Clark for Native maps or map-like information that became embedded there. Apparently, some Tribes did present Lewis and Clark with maps, which the latter incorporated into their journals. Some information was also conveyed to them in other ways. Drawing on the ground with a stick was one such method. Sharing pieces of bark and hides with charcoal drawings on them was another.⁸⁴ One of our featured curriculum designers, Dr. Carmelita Lamb, suggests we

examine Native cartographic methods, studying how landmarks, waterways, and nesting grounds were remembered.⁸⁵

In general, though, the kinds of visuals that Europeans might call maps were rather rare or they were ephemeral in Tribal communities. So, we might reflect on why Indigenous people had fewer concerns about creating more permanent representations of territorial dimensions. How did Native people view the land, and how did they depict it? Did they have less of a need for a visual path-finding tool to get from Point A to Point B? Were they even that linear in their movements, or did they follow ancient animal trails that had been, in turn, a response to the locations where the Earth offered them food and water? Did Native peoples rely more on well-worn trails, memory, and oral tradition? Were they less interested in measuring, buying, and selling land? Scott McCarthy's book *People of the Circle; People of the Four Directions*, has compiled a wealth of Native spiritual discourse that reveals recurring patterns or shared visions of the organization of space from Tribes across the continent. Here we find Indigenous mental maps that reveal an understanding of symmetry and cardinal directions as they intersect with circles.⁸⁶



Detail of petroglyphs carved in limestone cliffs in what is now Kansas, mentioned in a journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Public domain image from the records of the Environmental Protection Agency, 1974, National Archives, retrieved from <http://docsteach.org/documents/557117/detail?menu=closed&-mode=search&sortBy=relevance&q=Lewis+and+Clark&commit=Go>.

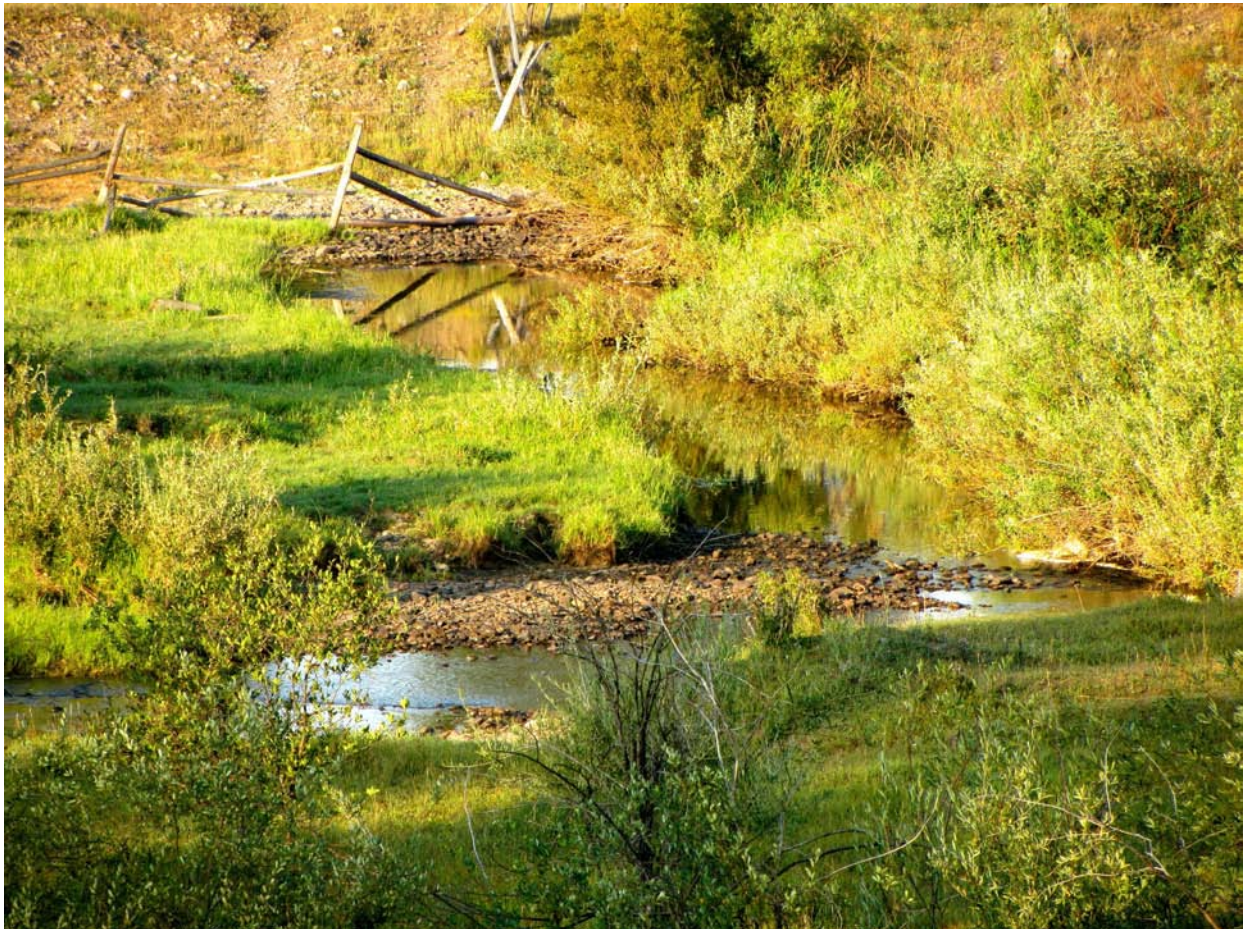
European Americans have also organized their conceptualization of the earth with cardinal directions. Where Mesoamericans prioritized East and West as the points of the rising and setting sun, Europeans' maps emphasized North, especially, given that they occupied what they considered the "Northern Hemisphere." Europeans were also very anxious to mark and name every detail and then demarcate their territorial claims, while also solidifying in their minds some kind of natural

right to do so. The more maps they made, the more they felt they had a claim on the land captured in the growing body of “geographic knowledge.” This was clearly connected with a rationale of possession.

— Stephanie Wood

Map showing the route of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Public domain image from the Office of the Chief of Engineers, ca. 1806. National Archives, retrieved from <http://docsteach.org/documents/5900021/detail?menu=closed&-mode=search&sortBy=relevance&q=Lewis+and+Clark&commit=Go>.⁸⁸

Americans in seeing water as vital to life and worthy of great honor. Indigenous communities brought to their meetings with the expeditionary group a great deal of knowledge about the great rivers – how to navigate and travel on them, how to obtain food from them, how to treat them with respect, and more. They had much to teach newcomers, who might be just as inclined to think of water (like land) as a commodity that could be possessed, bought, and sold.⁸⁹



A stream in Montana. The fence in the background is a hallmark of private property divisions and the commodification of land. Photo by Stephanie Wood.

Featured curriculum designer Julie Cajune (also a storyteller and an actress) demonstrates a holistic approach to the journey, exploring the many ways the Salish people interacted with the Corps of Discovery, extending their traditions of hospitality and offering life-saving gifts and support. She gives deep meaning to the presence and importance of water in Salish communities. Helping students understand their own communities and their own histories, as Julie does, makes legacies relevant in their young lives. Carol Buswell of the National Archives provides support for

this type of curricular work, pointing to methods and sources that enable students' discoveries of how their communities connect to the larger world. Another example along these lines is featured curriculum designer Shana Brown's attention to Celilo Falls on the Columbia River and the changes wrought there after contact. Shana guides our discoveries about how dams can raise serious complications for so many elements of life—including fishing, trading, and shore settlements, to name a few of the more essential.



Missouri River as seen from Atchison, Kansas. Public domain image from the records of the Environmental Protection Agency, 1974, National Archives, retrieved from <http://docsteach.org/documents/557091/detail?menu=closed&-mode=search&sortBy=relevance&q=Lewis+and+Clark&commit=Go>.⁹⁰

As Dr. Shane Doyle (Crow) and Dr. Megkian Doyle, two of our featured curriculum designers, are showing us, pre-contact names for places such as rivers, mountains, and other places, and their name for people, often demonstrated an inter-connectedness between humans and the natural world. Such identities derived from relationships, dreams, spiritual experiences, a baby's birth order, special deeds, or physical characteristics, and more. A useful discussion would be to explore how pre-contact names could be reclaimed, and how could we reify the valuable meaning such names often carried about a special appreciation for the environment and all living things?

Reclaiming names in English translation is one option. But returning to names in their Indigenous language version could have the added benefit of helping us re-learn Native expressions in their most original form.⁹¹

In fact, Native languages represent another non-traditional source for creating histories that Honor Tribal Legacies. Again, a number of resources can be found on line, often accessible to everyone. “Our Mother Tongues” is a website that includes a language map of North America, plus voices of “heroic American Indian first-language speakers and dedicated second-language learners of heritage languages.” This site also includes video clips from “We Still Live Here,” which point to cultural clues that are embedded in languages. These videos contain messages from elders who remind us of the importance of learning one’s mother tongue. A blog that features revitalization efforts, with stories and updates about recent successes, and a further offering on this website is an audio postcard opportunity.⁹²

Nilch’itsoh
A big wind,
The wind of November,
A wolf that shreds leaves from trees,
A howl that keeps us close to the fire.

A poem that incorporates the Navajo word for “big wind,” Nilch’itsoh [nil-CHI-tso] hosted on the website of the National Museum of the American Indian, retrieved from <http://nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers/html/chapter2.html>.⁹³

We can also find on line “The Language Gathering,” with links to hundreds of Indigenous language programs.⁹⁴ One such project has as its focus the Southern Pomo language of Northern California, where one can learn about an iPhone app of the Native alphabet and see a sign showing Pomo words for Native plants with QR codes that can be scanned by smart phones so that hikers in the Dry Creek Valley can hear authentic pronunciation of these plant names.⁹⁵ The use of modern technology can provide a “hook” for youth, motivating them to keep their Ancestral languages relevant in their daily lives. In another example, we see a burgeoning use of Facebook for language

use and for discussions about language preservation and revitalization. The Alutiiq Language and Learners (Kodiak, Alaska) is one such page.⁹⁶ Here we find lessons such as,

The Alutiiq Word of the Week is Ikauwiitii(q); Ikuwitii(q); Iiyapawawi'i : Golden-crowned sparrow.

Ikauwitiit nitnirtaartut. : Golden-crowned sparrows always sound beautiful.

Hear the Alutiiq words spoken at the link below. Retrieved from

<http://alutiiqmuseum.org/files/AWOTW%20Sounds/S15/35goldensparrow.wav>

Revitalization of language and, indeed, florescence in so many areas of activity on reservations, in Tribal colleges and museums, and in the national parks, rightfully capture our attention. They are the hallmarks resulting from considerable efforts expended by cultural champions within Tribes and in communities of solidarity all across North America.

This brief review of potential directions and suggestions for reflecting on Native memory and Honoring Tribal Legacies fails to exhaust the vast number of resources that we, as curriculum designers, have at our fingertips. Whether we are focusing on the Lewis and Clark episode in history or wishing to cast a broader net across time immemorial, the potential bounty is truly exciting. Abundant digital collections—of text and image—are coming on line almost daily. We have a beautiful library of books with a creative outpouring of expression from recent decades and earlier. With so much at hand, the challenge for us now is to step up, join the circle, assemble stories and materials, and engage our youth. We can make our curricula more validating, comprehensive, multi-dimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory.⁹⁷ We just need to open our hearts and minds to the beauty of this collaborative process.

Together, students, teachers, parents, and community leaders can choose the journey of healing and devote our energies toward honoring the hard work, creativity, love, and guidance of our forebears.

— Stephanie Wood

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I wish to thank our incomparable leader CHiXapkaid for welcoming me into the circle of people he has called together to devote itself to Honoring Tribal Legacies. Through his inspiration, we are carrying forward the valuable work of the Tent of Many Voices in the time of the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark episode in our shared histories. I am very grateful for the humbling and broadening learning experience that this has entailed. It is a beautiful family, dedicated to keeping the stories alive and sharing them with all American youth in brilliant and passionate curricular expressions. I also cherish the support of Jill Hamilton-Anderson and Dick Basch of the National Park Service for their guidance and assistance to help make this dream a reality, to keep the drum beating, and to contemplate how this movement will continue to grow and gain momentum, blossoming, we hope, into multiple forms with great longevity. To the many kind readers who gave input on this essay, not only those already mentioned but also to our steadfast colleague, the stellar editor, and warm human being, Dr. Ella Inglebret, and to the selfless and driven Carol Buswell of the National Archives, I say "gracias mil."

Endnotes

¹ Brenda M. Trofanenko, “More Than a Single Best Narrative: Collective History and the Transformation of Historical Consciousness,” *Curriculum Inquiry* 38(5) (2008), 579–603. One source that teachers might give students as a target for debunking the master narrative is Jack Uldrich’s book, *Into the unknown: Leadership lessons from Lewis and Clarks’ daring westward expedition* (New York: American Management Association, 2004). The title alone is a place to start: “unknown” to whom?

² See the fuller schedule of speakers retrieved from http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/userScripts/corps_pdfs/8.pdf

³ See information about *Enough good people* at the Tribal Legacy Project website, retrieved from <http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/>

⁴ See Peter N. Stearns, “Why Study History?” (1998), American Historical Association, retrieved from [https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-\(1998\)](https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/archives/why-study-history-(1998))

⁵ *Rethinking Columbus: The next 500 years*, eds. Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson (Milwaukee: Rethinking Schools, 1998).

⁶ See <<http://www.facinghistory.org>> for many inspiring examples of this positive approach.

⁷ The American Society for Ethnohistory states as its mission “a more inclusive picture of the histories of native groups in the Americas.” Retrieved from <http://www.ethnohistory.org/about-ase/>

⁸ The National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution holds the early records of the American Society for Ethnohistory from its inception in 1953 until about 1971, although the society continues to be active and hold annual meetings as of 2013. See: <http://collections.si.edu/search/results.htm?q=American+Society+for+Ethnohistory>, http://www.nmnh.si.edu/naa/fa/american_society_ethnohistory.pdf, and <http://www.ethnohistory.org/>

⁹ See *The houses of history: A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*, eds. A. Green and K. Troup (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 175–77.

¹⁰ For a photograph of Chief Tostom, see <http://photos.lib.state.or.us/exhibit4/e40010a.htm>

¹¹ Brenden Rensink, "Genocide of Native Americans: Historical Facts and Historiographic Debates," *Digital commons*, January 1, 2011 (University of Nebraska, Lincoln). The United Nations convention on genocide determined that "acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religious group," fit the label. Thus total destruction is not required, and intention is important. Acts can include distributing diseased blankets, secret sterilization campaigns, or leaving people with no resources with which to sustain themselves. See Lynda Gray, *First Nations 101* (Vancouver, B.C.: Adaawx Publishing, 2011), 84–85.

¹² A fascinating aside is that three-quarters of the space devoted to this memorial represents an effort to convince Congress to accept their opinion despite the fact that they were women.

¹³ See <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=1180&query=genocide>

¹⁴ See <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=488&query=identity>

¹⁵ Keith Thor Carlson, John Lutz, and David Schaepe, "Turning the Page: Ethnohistory from a New Generation," *The University of the Fraser Valley Research Review* 2(2) (Spring 2009), 3.

¹⁶ Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian peoples and the challenge of Spanish conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 159.

¹⁷ See, for example, the summary of a presentation by Joanna Crow at "Teaching Indigenous Histories: A Roundtable," Conference on Latin American History, Washington D.C., January 5, 2008, retrieved from http://clah.h-net.org/?page_id=1911

¹⁸ The news piece, "Curious Collections: Chocolate Pots from Chaco Canyon," *American Museum of Natural History* (7/27/2011), tells of the discovery of theobromine, the biomarker for cacao, in pots dug in Pueblo Bonito dating from the eleventh century. See: <http://www.amnh.org/explore/news-blogs/news-posts/curious-collections-chocolate-pots-from-chaco-canyon>

¹⁹ Eric A. Powell, "The Turquoise Trail," *Archaeology* 58(1) (January/February 2005), abstract, retrieved from <http://archive.archaeology.org/0501/abstracts/turquoise.html>. On copper and feathers see Bonnie G. Smith, et al, *Crossroads and cultures, Volume II: Since 1300: A history of the world's peoples* (New York: Macmillan, 2012), 571.

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- ²⁰ “Native American Languages,” which hosts a schematic map, is a site served by Indiana University, retrieved from <http://www.cogsci.indiana.edu/farg/rehling/nativeAm/ling.html>
- ²¹ See the Parks and Wildlife site about Blood Run retrieved from <https://www.parkswildlife-foundation.org/projects/BloodRun.aspx>; and see the Blood Run National Historic Landmark website, retrieved from <http://www.iowahistory.org/historic-sites/blood-run/>
- ²² Interdisciplinary Research Group on the Americas, “Transculturation and Cultural Hybridity,” retrieved from <http://www.gira.info/en/about-us/research-questions-and-key-notions/transculturation-and-cultural-hybridity>
- ²³ See <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=1049&query=assimilation>
- ²⁴ See Charles L. Cutler, *O brave new words! Native American loanwords in current English* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).
- ²⁵ Interdisciplinary Research Group on the Americas, “Transculturation and Cultural Hybridity,” retrieved from <http://www.gira.info/en/about-us/research-questions-and-key-notions/transculturation-and-cultural-hybridity>
- ²⁶ Athena S. Leoussi, “Tribal Identities,” *Encyclopedia of global studies*, ed. Helmut K. Anheier and Mark Jurgensmeyer (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2012).
- ²⁷ See: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethnic>
- ²⁸ See the chart at the bottom of the webpage article, “Ethnicity vs Race,” retrieved from http://www.diffen.com/difference/Ethnicity_vs_Race
- ²⁹ See Timothy Baumann, “Defining Ethnicity,” *The SAA Archaeological Record* (September 2004), 12.
- ³⁰ See the summary of René Harder Horst’s presentation as the same CLAH roundtable in 2008, retrieved from http://clah.h-net.org/?page_id=1911
- ³¹ See: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JgJJzTFwdfA>
- ³² This website hosts various podcasts from the NMAI: <http://www.si.edu/podcasts/nmailive/NMAILiveVideoPodcastSDBuzzBoostCSS.htm>
- ³³ Roy Cook, “Heart of Colonialism Bleeds Blood Quantum,” retrieved from <http://www.americanindiansource.com/bloodquantum.html>

³⁴ See Andrew Fisher, *Shadow Tribe: The making of Columbia River identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 119.

³⁵ Katherine Martineau, "Indigeneity," *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology*, 03/11/2008, retrieved from <http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/116>

³⁶ See <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=191&query=identity>

³⁷ Jeremy Waldron, "Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy," *New Zealand Journal of Public Law* 1 (2003).

³⁸ The U.N. has a "Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues," retrieved from <http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples.aspx>. The U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was passed in 2007, which is a PDF that is available in multiple languages from that same website.

³⁹ See Mathias Guenther's remarks about the concept of Indigeneity in Alan Barnard, "The Concept of Indigeneity," *Social Anthropology* 14(1) (February, 2006), 17.

⁴⁰ This draws from the "Guide to Implementing the Alaska Cultural Standards for Educators," retrieved from http://www.eed.state.ak.us/standards/pdf/cultural_standards.pdf

⁴¹ The African-American perspective might not be one that everyone would expect to see incorporated into the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition, but the group did include a man named "York," who had this heritage. One of several efforts to flesh out his experience despite the near void in the documentary records is Laurence Pringle's *American slave, American hero: York of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Honesdale, Penn.: Calkins Creek, 2006).

⁴² See: <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/ftp/transcripts/PBaCr6A-inclusivehistory.txt>

⁴³ The Tent was erected in many communities along the trail. Montana Fish, Wildlife & Parks offers on line a document for downloading about the speakers' schedule from 2005; the Tribal Legacy Project offers various programs, as well, including the one from Grand Ronde, OR, in 2006, retrieved from http://cms.lc-triballegacy.org/userScripts/corps_pdfs/8.pdf

⁴⁴ The review, by Matt Love, published in *The Oregonian* newspaper, is excerpted and printed inside the jacket cover of *Lewis and Clark through Indian eyes* (New York: Vintage, 2007).

⁴⁵ Love, 2007, 192. Another worthy study with a revisionist interpretation worthy of our attention

is Robert J. Miller's (Eastern Shawnee) *Native America, discovered and conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006). A shorter revisionist piece worthy of consideration is Richard Littlebear, "Beyond 'Discovery,' Lewis & Clark from an Indigenous Perspective," in *Your Heroes are not Our Heroes: Tribal College Journal of American Indian Higher Education* 14(3) (Spring 2003).

⁴⁶ See the summary of Brian Owensby's presentation at the same CLAH roundtable in 2008, retrieved from http://clah.h-net.org/?page_id=1911

⁴⁷ Karen Coody Cooper, *Spirited encounters: American Indians protest museum policies and practices* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008). See also David Hurst Thomas, *Skull wars: Kennewick Man, archaeology, and the battle for Native American identity* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

⁴⁸ *Tribal libraries, archives, and museums: Preserving our language, memory, and lifeways*, ed. Lorie Roy, Anjali Bhasin, Sarah K. Arriaga (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2011).

⁴⁹ T.J. Ferguson, "Native Americans and the Practice of Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1996), 63–79.

⁵⁰ Davina Ruth Two Bears, "Native American Archaeologists: Continuing the Tradition of Protecting the Past, for the Present and Future Generations of Native Peoples," *Winds of Change* 18(1) (Winter 2003), 12–14.

⁵¹ See: <http://www.archaeologychannel.org/>

⁵² Hollywood films about "cowboys and Indians" or even the type that tried to honor tribal legacies in the vein of *Little big man*, can provide another classroom resource that we can use as the basis for exploring representations of Indigenous people over time.

⁵³ Bowers, *Mandan social and ceremonial organization*, vii. To view some 67 photos of Gerard Baker and the Bicentennial see: http://research.archives.gov/search?expression=gerard+baker+bicentennial&pg_src=group&data-source=all

⁵⁴ "Resistant Reading" and "Critical Literacy" are concepts that are intended to help us become more active and thinking readers. One can find Wikipedia entries under such headings. See also: "Reading With and Against the Grain," a part of the "College Reading Skills Program: Techniques for Skillful Reading," retrieved from http://www.csupomona.edu/~crsp/handouts/read_grain.html

⁵⁵ See Robert R. Hunt, “Crime and Punishment on the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” in *Explorations into the world of Lewis and Clark*, vol. 2, ed. Robert A. Saindon (Great Falls, Mont. Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 2003), 728.

⁵⁶ See: <http://oregondigital.org/digcol/mh/>

⁵⁷ See: <http://oregondigital.org/digcol/mh/toc.php?CISOROOT=/Moorhouse-wkf&db=Moorhouse-wk&nicks=names&title=Browse+by+Name>

⁵⁸ We have an exhaustive compilation of excerpts from the various records that mention her thanks to Grace Raymond Hebard, *Sacajawea: Guide and interpreter of Lewis and Clark* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2002).

⁵⁹ Emma Carlson Berne has written a biography that is accessible to youth called *Sacagawea: Crossing the continent with Lewis and Clark* (New York: Sterling, 2010). One of many available discussions about the spelling, pronunciation, and meaning of the name of this iconic figure is found on page 4 of this biography. Another well-known biography is *Sacajawea* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), by Harold P. Howard. David L. Nicandri’s essay, “The New Sacagawea Myth,” in *River of promise: Lewis and Clark on the Columbia* (Washburn, N.D.: The Dakota Institute Press of the Lewis & Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 2009) is an important analytical study of a range of older and more recent representations of the legendary trail guide. Similarly, see the section “Bird Woman” in Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns, *Lewis & Clark: An illustrated history; The journey of the Corps of Discovery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 92–93. Kenneth Thomasma has written what he calls *The truth about Sacajawea* (Jackson, Wyo.: Grandview, 1997, 2000, 2003), which represented a lobbying effort in the selection of this figure for a U.S. coin, and Neta Lohnes Frazier penned the more traditional, *Path to the Pacific: The story of Sacagawea* (New York: Sterling, 1967, 2007).

⁶⁰ See Joseph Bruchac, *Sacajawea: The story of Bird Woman and the Lewis and Clark expedition* (New York: Harcourt, 2000). Similar works of interest focus primarily on her son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, such as Marion Tinling, *Sacagawea’s son* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press, 2001) and Susan M. Colby, *Sacagawea’s child: The life and times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau*

(Spokane, Wash., Arthur H. Clark, 2006). See also the biography by retired journalist Frederick Taylor, *Pomp: The long, adventurous life of Sacajawea's son* (Bloomington, Ind.: AuthorHouse, 2004).

⁶¹ Taylor, *Pomp*, back cover.

⁶² John W. W. Mann, *Sacajawea's people: The Lemhi Shoshones and the Salmon River Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004). A novel that takes the point of view of the guide's husband, Charbonneau, is Richard Hétu's *The lost guide: The man behind the Lewis and Clark expedition* (New York: East Village Press, 2004). A photo of Chief Lemhi Tindor, dating from 1897, retrieved from <http://research.archives.gov/description/519297>

⁶³ *The wisdom of the Native Americans*, ed. Kent Nerburn (New York: MJF Books, 1999,) xi.

⁶⁴ *The wisdom of the Native Americans*, xiii–xiv.

⁶⁵ *The wisdom of the Native Americans*, 132–33.

⁶⁶ See the first PDF listed on this web page: <http://tribalsov.ospi.k12.wa.us/>

⁶⁷ See: [http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=152&query=Oral history](http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=152&query=Oral%20history)

⁶⁸ See: [http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=868&query=Oral history](http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/video.php?vid=868&query=Oral%20history)

⁶⁹ See: <http://www.lc-triballegacy.org/main.php>.

⁷⁰ Michael J. Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, *Keepers of the animals: Native American stories and wildlife activities for children* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997), xi.

⁷¹ *Keepers of the animals*, 44–45. The National Museum of the American Indian in New York has an wonderful exhibit called the “Circle of Dance,” 2012–2017. For more information, see: <http://nmai.si.edu/exhibitions/circleofdance/>

⁷² See Barbara J. King, “When Animals Mourn: Seeing that Grief is Not Uniquely Human,” *NPR Cosmos & Culture* 3(7) (April 11, 2013), retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/blogs/13.7/2013/04/11/176620943/when-animals-mourn-seeing-that-grief-is-not-uniquely-human>

⁷³ We hope, eventually, to see Tribes develop their own standards for the education of their children. Dr. Rose Honey's curricular project cites some potential Indigenous-inspired standards that might provide a start in this direction.

⁷⁴ See *The definitive journals of Lewis and Clark: Herbarium, Volume 12 of the Nebraska Edition*, ed. Gary E. Moulton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004) and Susan H. Munger, *Common to this country: Botanical discoveries of Lewis & Clark* (New York: Artisan, 2003). See also H. Wayne Phillips, *Plants of the Lewis & Clark expedition* (Missoula, Mont.: Mountain Press, 2003).

⁷⁵ See: *Moccasin Thunder* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 79, 83. Another great volume of short literary works, compiled by Jarold Ramsey, is *Coyote was going there: Indian literature of the Oregon Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980). Among the many gems, for example, are creation accounts (e.g. 78, 106, 232, 258), the Wishram Calendar of twelve moons, June through May, and their Native names (72), recollections of treaty speeches (119, 120), and a memory of the first non-Native ship to visit Clatsop Country (174).

⁷⁶ See: <http://www.canyonrecords.com/>

⁷⁷ See: <http://www.dogsoldierpress.com/index.php/en/>. YouTube also provides examples of music, song, and that might be useful for teaching. An example is the Cherokee Morning Song with Lyrics, retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8C52yqpQV2I>, and the Stomp Dance Cherokee Sacred Spirit, retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uou4S1ljLIU>. One hopes that these videos have been posted with tribal acquiescence. The issue of rights and propriety around posting videos of sacred music and dance offers another teaching moment.

⁷⁸ A photograph of boys playing “Bear in Ring,” from c. 1911, Delaware, can be found among the online offerings of the National Museum of the American Indian, retrieved from <http://nmai.si.edu/explore/exhibitions/washington/>. For music, see: <http://www.songsforteaching.com/native-american-music/>. River Trading Post Pod Network offers free audio of Native music, along with podcasts about American Indian art, retrieved from <https://player.fm/series/river-trading-post-pod-network>

⁷⁹ See: *A dancing people* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 152–153. Powwows and Native American dancers are now regularly caught on video and published to YouTube, which represents another teaching resource, if used with care.

⁸⁰ See: James R. Walker, *Lakota belief and ritual*, eds. Raymond J. Demallie and Elaine A. Jahner

(Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 216–239. Colored drawings of dancers in war insignia also appear in that chapter.

⁸¹ Laurie Carlson, *More than moccasins: A kid's activity guide to traditional North American Indian life* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1994). The technologies of the teepee (tipi), travois, and lodge are included in Adolf Hungrywolf, *The tipi: Traditional Native American shelter* (Summertown, Tenn.: Native Voices, 2006), 13, 22, 25, 26, and passim. A special section on “Building a Tipi” begins on 220. Technologies that involve the use of cedar wood are found in Hilary Stewart’s beautifully illustrated, *Cedar: Tree of life to the Northwest Coast Indians* (Vancouver and Seattle: Douglas & McIntyre and University of Washington Press, 1984). Basket making technology, design, cultural significance are highlighted in Mary Dodds Schlick, *Columbia River basketry: Gift of the Ancestors, gift of the earth* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994). For a wonderfully detailed and informative exploration of feather crafts, see J. Andrew Forsythe, *Focus on feathers: A complete guide to American Indian feather craft* (N. p.: Crazy Crow Trading Post, 2010). A helpful general catalog of copyright-free clip art of *North American Indian motifs*, selected and arranged by Maggie Kate (Mineola, N.Y. Dover Clip-Art Series, 1996), could have many uses for classroom art projects. The National Museum of the American Indian makes available a lesson plan called “A Life in Beads: The Stories a Plains Dress Can Tell,” retrieved from http://nmai.si.edu/sites/1/files/pdf/education/NMAI_lifeinbeads.pdf. Many such resources can be found at the NMAI website of “Classroom Lessons,” retrieved from <http://nmai.si.edu/explore/foreducatorsstudents/classroomlessons/>

⁸² The quote about the accretion from the solar nebula was retrieved from Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Earth, and the story of the turtle from Michael J. Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, *Keepers of the earth*, (Golden, Colo. Fulcrum, 1997), 4.

⁸³ *Keepers of the Earth*, 4, 5.

⁸⁴ Derek Hayes, *Historical atlas of the Pacific Northwest: Maps of exploration and discovery* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1999), 7. A map-like buffalo hide painted by a Lakota historian named Lone Dog captures a spiral that began in the winter of 1800, with images of Lakotas killed in a fight with Crows, and continues during the period of the Lewis and Clark expedition and beyond

with representations of horse-stealing, trading posts, treaty ceremonies, disease, and flags. See a photograph of the hide in Duncan and Burns, *Lewis & Clark*, 219. It also appears Carolyn Gilman, *Lewis and Clark: Across the divide* (Washington and London: Smithsonian, 2003), 314–315. Another bison robe painting, showing combat between Sioux warriors and earthlodge villagers is reproduced in Castle McLaughlin, *Arts of diplomacy: Lewis & Clark's Indian collection* (Cambridge and Seattle: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, and University of Washington Press, 2003), 41. This catalogue offers a vast array of photographs of material culture with many potential classroom uses, including studies of pipes (Chapter 8) and Grizzly Claws, Garters, and Fashionable Hats (Chapter 9).

⁸⁵ George Thomas, *Lewis and Clark Trail: The photo journal, up the Missouri, down the Columbia and back* (Harlowton, Mont., Snowy Mountain Publishing, 2000), includes gorgeous photographs of the landscapes along the trail, including the many waterways that it encompasses. Ron Lowery and Mary Walker have published aerial photographs in their book, *Chasing Lewis & Clark across America: A 21st century aviation adventure* (Harrison, Tenn.: Windsock Media, 2004). Of a similar beauty and possible utility would be Charles Fritz, *The complete collection, Charles Fritz: 100 paintings illustrating the journals of Lewis and Clark* (Helena, Mont.: Farcountry Press, 2009).

⁸⁶ See: *People of the Circle* (Nevada City, Calif.: Blue Dolphin Publishing, 1999).

⁸⁷ John Allen, “The Maps of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” in Paul E. Cohen, *Mapping the West: America's westward movement, 1524–1890* (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 74.

⁸⁸ The National Park Service also hosts an elaborate, animated map of “Lewis and Clark's Track,” retrieved from <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/travel/lewisandclark/index.htm>

⁸⁹ A recommended collection of documents from *Before Lewis & Clark: Documents illustrating the history of the Missouri, 1785–1804*, ed. A. P. Nasatir (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), contains an impressive number of primary-source records about this crucial period of early contact prior to the expedition. Here is a collection that will definitely benefit from being read against the grain and deconstructed, watching for perspectives, language, and designs the documents' authors held on the region. For a consideration of wood as a commodity, one might take a look at *Lewis and*

Clark meet Oregon's forests: Lessons from dynamic nature, by Gail Wells and Dawn Anzinger (Portland: Oregon Forest Resources Institute, 2001), which emphasizes that even before Euro-Americans were on the scene the forests of the Northwest were marked by “disturbance and change,” seemingly in an effort to justify resource extraction.

⁹⁰ Please note that this image is one of several that have been compiled for possible use in teaching the Lewis and Clark episode in history.

⁹¹ A fascinating study of a related nature is Garrick Mallery, *A collection of gesture-signs and signals of the North American Indians: With Some Comparisons* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880).

⁹² See: <http://ourmothertongues.org/Home.aspx>

⁹³ Image source: <http://nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers/html/chapter2.html>

⁹⁴ See: <http://languagegathering.org/>

⁹⁵ See: <http://languagegathering.org/languageprogram/southern-pomo-language-program/>

⁹⁶ See: https://www.facebook.com/alutiiqlanguage?ref=tn_tnmn

⁹⁷ These terms come from the website, “Culturally Responsive Teaching,” which cites G. Gay, *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, & practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000), retrieved from <http://www.intime.uni.edu/multiculture/curriculum/culture/teaching.htm>